

STUDIA SLAVICO-BYZANTINA ET MEDIAEVALIA EUROPENSIA

VOL. I

STUDIES ON THE SLAVO-BYZANTINE AND WEST-EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES

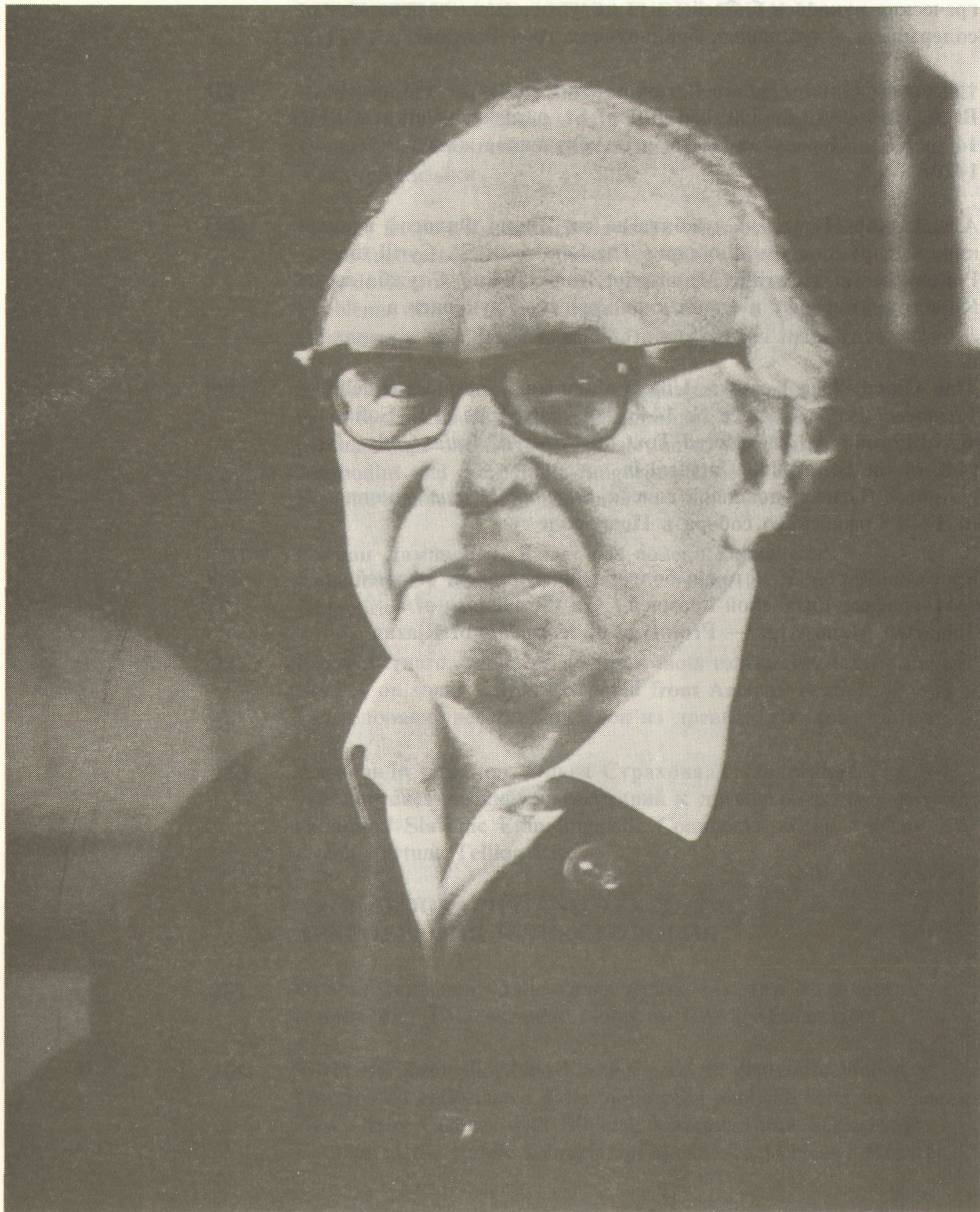
In memoriam Ivan Dujčev

Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies

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Cette étude doit être citée dans un travail plus vaste concernant les Byzantins de Corfou, qui se sont efforcés de préparer, avec la collaboration de l'Institut Archéologique, d'après les recherches que nous avons effectuées dans les Archives de Venise et de Corfou. En outre, elle fut l'objet d'une communication présentée à la Société d'Histoire, le jeudi, 24 janvier 1983.



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AXINIA DŽUROVA

Introduction

The idea of publishing a volume of articles in memory of Professor Ivan Dujčev was suggested by the numerous letters received from scholars all over the world in response to the news of his death. These letters expressed both respect and devotion for one of the greatest scholars in Bulgarian and Byzantine history in Bulgaria as well as abroad. Prof. Dujčev is remembered by all for his integrity, honesty and objectivity as an historian and scholar.

The staff of the Research Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, established under the term of the will of the late Prof. Dujčev, sent invitations to scholars asking for their contributions for a memorial volume. A great number of papers were received which will be published in two volumes. However, the contributions by Bulgarian scholars, presented at the Symposium on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of the late Prof. Dujčev, will be published in the *Annual (Godišnik)* of the Centre. The overwhelming interest shown in the work of Prof. Dujčev confirms the words of the famous Slavist, Angello Danti; "He was Bulgarian: however, judging by his works, he should rather be called a 'citizen of the world'."

The first letters mailed were based on the late Prof. Dujčev's address book. Gradually the circle of medievalists was broadened to include representatives of different age groups and institutions, even scholars whom Dujčev did not personally know. They all remember Dujčev's work and through their contributions showed their respect. In selecting the scholars we had in mind Prof. Dujčev's legacy — he believed that, in the course of the centuries, the national interests and the historical destiny of

the Orthodox Slavs were intertwined with the history of Byzantium. The task of the medievalist concerned with the cultural history of the Slavs is to establish the complex interaction of the origins and influences of cultures. According to Prof. Ihor Ševčenko, time has assigned to Prof. Dujčev the role of an objective scholar and a master in Slavic and Byzantine paleography. The broad scope of Dujčev's interests covered Medieval Bulgarian history and culture, as well as Slavic, Greek and Latin paleography. The major merit of his works is in his study of the bilateral nature of political, spiritual, and cultural interrelations between Byzantium and the Slavs, from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the beginning of modern times. The dependency of the Southern Slavs on Byzantium did not cease with the fall of Constantinople in May 1453; due to them the spirit of Byzantine Empire continued to live. A history of the "World Empire" could not be studied comprehensively without considering the interrelation between Byzantium and the Slavs. This was the thesis on which Prof. Dujčev had based his study and research, which remains as an invaluable example for his disciples. Cultural history need not be emotional; above all, it should be objective and imbued with a national conscience. The only way to properly place a given culture within the framework of the development of humanity is by comparing it with other national cultures.

We should like to apologize to the colleagues whom we have overlooked. We are confident that they will understand the difficulties we had to overcome in establishing our Centre and we trust

Introductoin

Предисловие

that they will collaborate with us in the future. We hope this volume of articles is the first step in the activities of the Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies which cannot progress without the assistance and cooperation of colleagues from all over the world.

Volume I is composed of 37 articles. Most of the contributors are internationally renowned scholars who have made major contributions to the field of humanities. The Board of Editors followed a traditional approach in compiling the first volume and divided the papers into four principle groups: History (15 papers), Art and Culture (10 papers), Languages and Literature (6 papers), and Archeography and Text Studies (6 papers).

There is a considerable variety in the subject matter as well as in the chronology. In organizing these articles, the Board of Editors aimed at covering the broad scope of Dujčev's interests and the complex method he often applied to his research. Many of the contributors knew Prof. Dujčev and corresponded with him on various topics of mutual historical interest, on questions dealing with Slavic Studies, Bulgarian Studies, archeography as well as medieval

literature and culture. The structure of present volume is not arbitrary. Essentially it puts forth selected studies of common interest from the enormous heritage of Prof. Ivan Dujčev.

The Board of Editors decided to publish the papers as they were presented by the authors, and although it disagreed with some opinions, the Board did not interfere. Occasionally, however, the liberty was taken to return some studies for revision, in which the subject matter of the Slavs, and in particular Russian paleographical literature, was not up to date. We thank our colleagues for their understanding and efficiency in returning their revised papers. In organizing the material for volume one and two the only criteria followed was the chronological order in which the articles were received.

The Board of Editors wish to express their sincere gratitude to the Management of the "Kliment Ohridski" University of Sofia, as well as to all organizations and colleagues in Bulgaria and abroad, who, with their kind support, made possible the establishment of the Centre as well as the publication of the present volume.

THEODORE PAPADOPOULLOS

On the Definition of the Byzantine-African Frontier¹

On the Definition
of the Byzantine-African
Frontier

Об определении
византийско-
африканской границы

The Byzantine-African frontier was inherited from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and this inheritance is evidenced in a dual tradition: that of provincial settlement and administration along the northern borderland of the African continent, and that of the indeterminate projections into the African hinterland beyond the political frontier. The fundamental distinction between the Byzantine and the Hellenistic-Roman modalities of frontier history derives from the nature and content of frontier intercourse and the ultimate historical effects produced on the peoples affected. In order to deal with the varied morphology of frontier contacts we have to enlarge the conceptual basis of frontier status by extrapolating from the material data of frontier history conceived in terms of administrative divisions and geographical contiguity.

Let us consider in real terms the essential modifications of frontier status in the northern African borderland in Byzantine times with comparative regard to the Hellenistic-Roman legacy.

The administrative frontier in Egypt and North Africa inherited by the Byzantine Empire was maintained for the most part of the period politically known as the Later Roman Empire, but this geographical-administrative frontier was soon overthrown by the Islamic conquests of Egypt and North Africa. Any geographical contiguity of the Byzantine Empire with the African peoples was impeded by the interposed Islamic political and religious establishment which henceforth dominated the whole belt of North Africa. But unlike the Hellenistic and Roman presence in Africa, the Byzantine frontier survived in the form of cultural institutions exerting an acculturative influence, the varieties of which vary according to the ethnic groups affected and their geographical isolation. In the survival of Byzantine culture in Africa, we are confronted, therefore, with qualitative aspects of frontier contact as against the material forms of politico-geographical frontier. We can give some examples of such aspects by referring to different ethnic and geographical areas of the Byzantine presence in Africa. The western sector, including the region of the North African peoples and the Saharan regions, has been entirely dominated by the Islamic conquest. The pre-Islamic past of the Berber and the Western Sudanese peoples has been relegated to oblivion by the deeply assimilating influence of Islamic culture. This is the case, for instance, with certain influences exerted in the reign of Justinian, when imperial authority asserted itself by means of certain outposts such as Hibis in the Great Oasis, and the city of Augila in the Libyan Sahara, in which Justinian built a church after forcibly converting the inhabitants.

The Byzantine frontier in the Saharan sector was not only geographically, but also ethnologically indeterminate. Contacts with the Berber tribes were established through several agreements after the Vandal invasion. Olympiodorus' description of the Sahara in the 5th century is fairly accurate, despite the criticism levelled against it by Photius. The testimonies of Arab authorities such as Ibn Batuta, Leo Africanus, Ibn Said, and as-Zohry about the existence of Negro Christian populations in the western Sudanese kingdoms point to acculturative

1. Paper presented to the 17th International Byzantine Congress, Washington, D.C., August 3—8, 1986.

**On the Definition
of the Byzantine-African
Frontier**

**Об определении
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африканской границы**

penetrations from North and North-East Africa, which, however, cannot be safely attributed to Byzantine influence, since Christianity in North Africa predates Byzantine rule and, further, cultural penetrations from Nubia into the Western Sudanese sector are ascertainable. It would be safer to define the Byzantine-West-Sudanese frontier as merely ethnological.

The conceptual basis of the Byzantine-African frontier shifts radically when we consider the Nubian sector. Its conversion in the 6th century, brought a direct transition from the Pharaonic tradition to the new oecumenical ideology of Christianity, but, unlike North Africa and Egypt, where Christianity antedated Byzantine political rule, Nubia derived its Christian ideology and institutions from Byzantium, cultural influences from which were already evident in art. However, unlike the Northern African territories, Nubia was not subject to Byzantine political rule. This made the Byzantine-Nubian historical contiguity exceptional. The political frontier was reduced to minor importance in comparison with the cultural impact. Cultural diffusion overlapped the political frontier, and resulted in a relationship not affected by the contingencies of floating political expediences, all the more so, because the cultural impact had as background religious assimilation. In view of such ideological community can we speak of a cultural frontier? The answer must take into account the fact that community of ideological structures does not necessarily entail identity of non-ideological structures and ethnic assimilation. We may, therefore, speak of a frontier status in which ideological community provides the common ground of setting into motion an acculturative process between ethnically heterogeneous groups. Ideological community, in the case of Nubia, operated as a catalytic factor in the acculturative process initiated by the transition to Christianity. Nubian ecclesiastical organization, ritual, and institutions, Nubian ecclesiastical art, and, by extension, a degree of influence on the social institutions, are the end-products of this process.

An important consequence of the emancipation of the ideological structure from its politico-geographical setting is the extension of the Byzantine cultural frontier beyond the political frontier. While the latter in the 6th century was delimited by the Aswan limes, the former extends south of the sixth water fall and allows the contiguity with the Nilo-Hamitic groups beyond the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, as well as with the Central Sudanese peoples to the west. This extended frontier, outside the political control of the Byzantine Empire, made possible the remote irradiation of Byzantine culture through the agency of Nubia. Even though the medieval past of the Central and Western Sudan has been obscured by the Islamic establishment, surviving specimens of Christian and Byzantine influences have been, in most cases, traced to Nubian sources. Influences upon Nilotic populations south of Nubia are less evident. The grasslands and swamplands of the Upper Nile valley account for the impracticality of a determinate frontier and they are interposed between the Christian culture of Nubia and the Negro-African civilization of the great equatorial forest to the south.

The foregoing modality of the Byzantine-Nubian frontier underwent a differentiation as a consequence of the rift provoked by the Monophysite controversy and the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The reaction to Chalcedon entailed a permanent split between the Alexandrian and other churches on the one hand, and the Constantinopolitan orthodoxy on the other. The conversion of Nubia was achieved under the sway of the Monophysite controversy, and the Nubian church wavered for a long time between Orthodoxy and the Monophysite dogma. In fact the same internal split occurred within the Byzantine Empire, and one might think that the divided doctrinal ideology in Nubia only reflected the pattern of controversy obtaining in the Byzantine provinces. Now the evolution of the controversy brought about a substantial differentiation in the ideo-

logical obediences of the Empire, since the Monophysite doctrine prevailed permanently in the African churches, whereas it was permanently discarded from the body of Constantinopolitan Orthodoxy. The cultural frontier between Byzantium and the African countries affected by the Monophysite dogma was definitely established. As long as the controversy between Orthodoxy and Monophysitism persisted within the Empire, one might speak of an internal ideological frontier stretching across the territorial limits and dividing the former unified cultural outposts of the Empire. But the clearance of the controversy by means of territorially separated regions meant a transformation of the internal ideological frontier into an external one. The ideological community of the Byzantine-Nubian frontier was thereby impaired to the extent of the doctrinal differentiation entailed by the controversy.

A final modality of the Byzantine-African frontier resulted from the Byzantine-Ethiopian connection. Ethiopia remained an intact field of uninterrupted cultural tradition, in which the assimilation of Byzantine ecclesiastical institutions and political ideology had proceeded on independent lines ever since the isolation of the country from the Christian world after the Islamic conquests. The ecclesiastical literature of Ethiopia reflects a continuing process of acculturation in the spiritual and social values of the Byzantine Empire. The acculturation is not limited to the purely ecclesiastical field. It expatiates upon the political ideology by assimilating as far as possible the Byzantine imperial pattern of world-historical power, an ideology embodied in the *Kerba Nagast*, the political Bible of the Ethiopian kingdom. In this process, the Byzantine cultural frontier was projected in time beyond the historical life itself of the Byzantine Empire — a modality worth noting as expressing the persistence and function of ideological values as against the temporal limitations of material structures.

On the Definition of the Byzantine-African Frontier

Об определении византийско-африканской границы

NIKOLAS OIKONOMIDES

Tribute or Trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian Treaty of 716

In the late summer of 812, the Bulgarian Khan Krum, feeling confident because of his brilliant victory over Nicephorus I, sent an embassy to Constantinople with an ultimatum: if the new Emperor, Michel II Rangabe, did not accept his terms and conclude a peace treaty, Krum would promptly attack the Byzantine city of Mesembria. The Byzantine answer was not forthcoming; the Khan therefore besieged and finally took the city by the end of October. In Constantinople the debate was still very lively on whether Krum's terms were acceptable, when the news of the fall of Mesembria arrived on 5 November 812.

These events are described in the text of Theophanes the Confessor¹, a simplistic chronicle written shortly later, and more concisely, in the Continuator of Theophanes², written in the 10th century. According to Theophanes, Krum requested the renewal of a treaty concluded by Kormesios (740—756?) Khan of the Bulgars when Theodosios Adramyttinos (716—717) was Emperor and Germanos (715—730) was Patriarch of Constantinople. There is here a much discussed chronological discrepancy, because it seems — but is by no means certain — that in 716 Khan Tervel was still reigning in Bulgaria. We shall not stop to investigate this problem which is complicated by many uncertainties. After all, as has already been supposed, we could have here a thirty-year treaty, concluded in 716 and renewed, on or after 746, when Kormesios was reigning in Bulgaria and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V was preparing major operations against the Arabs. Be that as it may, what seems certain, and is generally accepted because of Theophanes' chronological precisions (mention of the Emperor and of the Patriarch), is that a treaty had been concluded in 716³.

Krum's ultimatum contained four conditions that Byzantines were expected to meet. As reported in the source, these were divided in two parts: Krum requested (ζητῶν) the renewal of the 716 treaty (two clauses) and on top of it (πρὸς τοῦτοις: Theophanes) he added two new terms of his own, one of which — the mandatory mutual extradition of all political refugees — provoked the reaction on the part of the Emperor's councillors in Constantinople, the long discussions and finally the rejection of the ultimatum. This is clearer in the Continuator of Theophanes, who declares that the matter of the refugees was an addition due to Krum (προσθεθέντος). Despite the testimony of both texts, this distinction between the Treaty of 716 and the additional proposals of 812, although already pointed out by Blagoev in 1924, has been ignored by most scholars, with the exception of Beševliev. Recently, it has been accepted also by Christophilopoulou.

The first clause of the 716 Treaty concerned the frontier and is not of interest for the present paper. The second clause concerned "garments and red leather up to a price of 30 pounds of gold (ἐσθῆτας καὶ κόκκινα δέρματα ἕως τιμῆς ἅλιτρον χρυσοῦ). In his Latin translation of Theophanes, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who used a now lost manuscript of the Ninth Century, speaks of 50 pounds of gold, but for the rest he translates faithfully the clause (*vestimenta quoque seu coccineas pelles usque ad pretium quinquaginta librarum auri*). The Continuator of Theophanes uses somehow different terms: Krum asked that

Tribute or Trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian Treaty of 716

Налог или торговля? Византийско-болгарский договор 716 г.

1. Theophanis, *Chronographia*, ed. De Boor, C., I, 497—499; cf. the 9th century translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in vol. II, 335 ff.
2. Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn, 12—13.
3. Dölger, F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I, no. 276. The bibliography concerning the treaty of 716 and the negotiations of 812 is vast. Among the relatively recent publications one should mention: Beševliev, V., *Tri prinosa kŭm bŭlgarskata srednovekovna istorija*, I: *Za bŭlgaro-vizantijskite mirni dogovori prez VIII v.*, *Izsledvanija v čest na M. S. Drinov*, Sofia, 1960, 283—291; Cankova-Petkova, G., *Bŭlgaro-vizantijskite otnošenija pri upravljenieto na Tervel i Kormesij*, *ibid.*, 615—627; same author, *Bŭlgaro-vizantijskijat miren dogovor ot 716 g.*, *Izsledvanija v čest na Akad. D. Dečev*, Sofia, 1958, 743—746; same author, *Bulgarians and Byzantium during the first Decades after the Foundation of the Bulgarian State*, *Byzantinoslavica* 24, 1963, 41—53; same author, *Deux contributions à l'histoire des rapports bulgare-byzantins au IX^e siècle*, *Byzantinoslavica* 37, 1976, 36—45. Problems concerning the frontier (of no particular interest for the present argument) have been examined by Rašev, R., *Kŭm vŭprosa za jugoistočnata bŭlgarska granica prez VII—IX vv.*, *Vekove*, 7 4, 1978, 48—54 and by Koledarov, P., *Političeska geografija na srednovekovnata bŭlgarska dŭrŭava*, Sofia, 1979; and, more recently, by Gagova, K., *Bulgarian-Byzantine Border in Thrace from the 7th to the 10th Century (Bulgaria to the South of the Haemus)*, *Bulgarian Historical Review* 14 1, 1986, 66—77. A very important contribution for understanding the real significance of the treaty and of its attempted renewal is due to a jurist, Kutikov, who first wrote a short article in *Istoričeski Pregled*, 3, 1962, 79—845, and then an extensive one: *Bŭlgaro-vizantijskijat dogovor ot 716 g. (pravno-istoričesko izsledvane)*, *Godišnik of the Sofia University, Law School (Juridičeski Fakultet)* 65, 1974, 69—116. Recent Greek publications: Zakythinos D., *Byzantinische Geschichte*, Vienna, Köln, Graz, 1979, 76; Christophilopoulou, A., *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία*, II, Athens, 1981, 181—182; Korres, Th., *Σχέσεις Βυζαντίου καὶ Βουλγαρίας στὴν περίοδο Βασιλείας Μιχαήλ Α΄ Παγκαβέ*, *Βυζαντινά* 11, 1982, 141—156.

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"what was previously given every year (presumably by the Byzantines to the Bulgarians), be given to him; I think (sic), in the form of tribute, as this had been decided (or "accepted") by the former ones" (τὰ κατ' ἔτος διδόμενα εἰς τάξιν, οἶμαι, δοθῶσιν φόρου αὐτῷ ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἔδοξε). It is not specified who these "former ones" were; most probably the historian refers to Michael's predecessors, Staurakios and his wife, who reigned for a very short time after the Byzantine disaster of 811.

The discrepancies between the three texts can easily be explained. In a period of negotiations, many options could have been discussed: 30 or 50 pounds of gold, tribute or not tribute, etc. Theophanes (who uses the word αὔθις), seems to attest that Krum had sent at least two embassies to Constantinople. The Continuator suggest that a previous government, which we assume to have been that of Staurakios, had already accepted (or proposed) transforming "what was previously given every year" into a tribute payable to Bulgaria. Partly satisfied with this, in his counterproposals Krum added two more terms, one of which, the refugee issue, was to become the stumbling block of the negotiations.

The Continuator's text shows clearly that "what was given before" 812 by Byzantium to Bulgaria was not a tribute. In spite of that and in spite of the text of Theophanes, most scholars understood that already in 716 Byzantium had started making annual payments to the khans. Exceptions: Dölger speaks of a tax on clothes and red skins, Lopez understands that this was a Byzantine "present" or, better, an "export licence"⁴. And Kutikov, most correctly, speaks of quota (contingent).

This last interpretation is the only possible one for the Theophanes text: the expression ἕως τιμῆς (up to a price of) indicates a "ceiling value" but certainly not a tribute, since the exact amount of the latter had to be fixed. On the other hand, the question here concerns the price of some expensive merchandise, the circulation of which was restricted and export prohibited by the Byzantine state (the famous κεκωλυμένα): garments, presumably of silk, and red leathers, presumably dyed with purple, both produced in small quantities but in a variety of qualities in Constantinople, especially by the imperial workshops. In the early 8th century, production and trade in this precious merchandise was in the hands of businessmen-officials, the *kommerkiarioi* and the *archontes tou blattiou*, who farmed out their positions for one or two years and who were likely to make considerable profits while developing the production of these luxury items in the empire⁵. The treaty of 716 established a Bulgarian quota presumably for the first time: every year, the Byzantines would agree to sell to the Bulgarians such merchandise, the total worth of which was limited by a ceiling expressed in gold coins. Consequently, the quantity of the goods would decrease if their quality and price increased. It is obvious that this trade was already in effect before 716 and that the treaty was meant to regulate its volume, most probably by offering the Bulgarians the guarantee that a certain quantity of the precious merchandise would be available for them every year. As Kutikov has most appropriately pointed out, a similar approach is attested in the treaty of 944 between Byzantium and the Russians. Each Kievan merchant who went to Constantinople was entitled to buy and export silk items worth not more than fifty gold coins⁶. The principle is the same, with the difference that we have here individual quotas, while the treaty of 716 established a global quota for all Bulgarians. It follows that Bulgarian trade had to be conducted at a place where a *kommerkiarios* resided and accounts of the total exports to Bulgaria could be kept; a place that would be the equivalent of a late Roman commercium, a frontier city specializing in foreign trade. Where could this be?

After Constantinople, Mesembria (today Nessebur, on the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea) is the first byzantine city, whose name appears frequently on seals of *kommerkiarioi* or of "imperial kommerkia": the earliest example dates from

4. Lopez, R. S., *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, Speculum, 20, 1945, 32 and note 2.
5. I have indicated my views concerning these titles in: *Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the 6th to the 9th Century*. The seals of *Kommerkiarioi*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 40, 1986, 33—53.
6. Sorlin, I., *Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle*, Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique, 4, 1961, 449, 457—58.

690—691, the latest from the reign of Constantine V (from an unspecified date between 751 and 775)⁷. Mesembria's evolution into a major commercial centre is undoubtedly related to trade with Bulgars: the first kommerkiarios appears there barely ten years after the creation of the Bulgarian state south of the Danube. We know nothing about trade clauses in the first Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty (681) which was abolished by Justinian II in 688⁸. But we can imagine that trade between the two neighbours had started even if there were no special provisions in the treaty even if the treaty was no longer valid and we can see why Mesembria was selected as the seat of a kommerkiarios. It had always been a well-protected fortress, situated on the "island" linked to the continent by a narrow strip of land; it was a port, close to the Bulgarian frontier, communicating with Constantinople by sea (which was controlled by the Byzantine navy); it was sufficiently well fortified to discourage the Bulgars. From a text of Theophanes we learn that in 812 the city equipped with special weaponry (including Greek fire) and served as a safeguard for large amounts of gold and silver⁹ — and, we may presume, other precious items.

I suppose that throughout the first half of the eighth century, Byzantino—Bulgarian trade in precious items was conducted in Mesembria, under the responsibility of the kommerkiarioi of the city. But this must have stopped when Constantine V launched his long and successful wars against Bulgaria (756—775). It is certainly no more chance that the last preserved seal of the kommerkia of Mesembria dates from the reign of this emperor. Official commercial exchanges were interrupted and their resumption demanded by Krum in 812. The negotiations failed and the Khan took Mesembria by assault. After his sudden death in 814, his successor Omurtag concluded a thirty-year peace with the empire, bringing the frontier between the two countries further south, close to Debeltos (near Bourgas) and inaugurating a long period of calm and friendly relations¹⁰. Trade must have picked up again and was probably centred in Debeltos, the large Byzantine port that was near the frontier. We have a seal of the imperial kommerkia of this city dated 832/33¹¹; and many later undated seals of kommerkiarioi of Debeltos; or of kommerkiarioi of Romania (i.e. Debeltos that belongs to the Byzantine empire)¹². All show that this was a place where official international trade was conducted¹³, and where the name Romania could be used as a guarantee "in the name of the emperor" of the exported merchandise.

Let us now return to the treaty of 716. As Kutikov has pointed out, it was not the result of a victory of one party over the other. It was meant to normalize the relations between two countries that had already fought some wars but had also started a mutually beneficial cooperation. It inaugurated a period of peace and prosperity, the "good old times" mentioned in a Proto-Bulgarian inscription of the ninth century¹⁴. Byzantium, politically unstable but economically powerful, conceded a presumably comfortable quota to Bulgaria and created an important friendship in these troubled times. Bulgarian help would largely contribute in defeating the Arab besiegers of Constantinople in 718¹⁵.

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7. Zacos, G. — A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals* 1/1, Basel, 1972, 182—84, table 30.
8. Theophanis, *Chronographia*, I, 359; cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, N 243.
9. Theophanis, *Chronographia*, I, 499.
10. Theophanis, *Chronographia*, I, 498, 499; cf. Dölger, *Regesten* N 393 and Dujčev, I., *A propos du traité byzantinobulgare de 814/815*, *Studia in honorem Veselin Beševliev* Sofia, 1978, 500—503. The frontier established by this treaty has been disputed by scholars; see Koledarov, P., *Za bulgaro-vizantijskata granica v Trakija sled 30—godišnjia mir ot 814—815*, *Moyen-Age Bulgare*, *Recueil bulgaro-soviétique rédigé en l'honneur du prof. Ivan Dujčev*, Sofia, 1980, 55—61. But the seals of kommerkiarioi of Debeltos have contributed in clarifying the question by showing that Debeltos remained in Byzantine hands: cf. Beševliev, V., *Sprachliches aus byzantinischen Bleisiegeln*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 30, 1981, 74.
11. Zacos—Vegler, N° 285.
12. Schlumberger, G., *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, 112, 113.
13. Debeltos was also the place where the "presents" sent by the Byzantine emperor to the Bulgarian ruler Symeon were delivered to the latter's emissaries in the 9th and 10th century: *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, ed. Jenkins, R. J. H. and Westerink, L., Washington, D. C., 1973, № 6, I, 31. In the same letter, Nicholas Mystikos also promises that "the so-called convention (κομβέντων) shall operate as in the beginning". Contrary to current interpretation of this passage, I consider this as a reference to the previous treaties regulating trade between the two countries. A recent discussion of this text is due to Zaphraka, Alkmene Stauridou, 'Η σημασία της λέξης κομβέντων σέ ἐπιστολή τοῦ Νικολάου Μυστικοῦ', *Ἑλληνικά*, 30 1977/78, 150—152.
14. Byzantines and Bulgarians τὸ ἀρχαῖον καλὰ ἔχουν: Beševliev, V., *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1963, no. 13, I, 156—163.
15. Giuzelev, V., *La participation des Bulgares à l'échec du siège arabe de Constantinople en 717/8*, *Etudes Historiques*, 10, 1980, 91—113.

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ROBERT BROWNING Byzantines in Bulgaria — Late 8th-Early 9th Centuries

That many Byzantines lived in territory subject to the ruler of Bulgaria before the conversion of the country is well known, and individual cases have been discussed, usually briefly, by Zlatarski, Beševliev and others. The present paper aims at a more comprehensive, though still provisional, examination of the various categories of Byzantines in Bulgaria attested in the early sources, and the role which they played in Bulgarian society. It will concentrate on the reigns of Krum and Omurtag, on which we possess slightly more information than on the immediately preceding or succeeding periods.

The first category of Byzantines, those whose presence in Bulgaria was involuntary, was probably the most numerous, and perhaps the least interesting. It consisted of prisoners of war and civilian captives. As a rule these were ransomed or exchanged, as were Byzantines in Muslim hands. The treaty between Omurtag and the Byzantines, the text of which is partially recorded on an inscribed column, probably originally in Pliska and now in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia, sets out "rates of exchange" for different categories of captives¹. Owing to the very damaged state of this part of the inscription, the distinctions are far from clear. But it seems that officers were to be exchanged for a monetary ransom, varying with the rank of the officer, and common soldiers were to be exchanged man for man. Those captured "within the *kastra*" who are each to be exchanged for a pair of oxen, are likely those Byzantine soldiers who threw away their weapons after the Bulgarian victory at Versinikia on June 22, 813 and took refuge in *κάστρα τινά*². But they could be civilians, inhabitants of or refugees in the cities taken by the Bulgarians. The following clause, beginning *ἐὰν ἐξα* which has been variously restored by Uspenskij and Beševliev, may well have dealt with civilians captured in villages or in the open country. The next section, at the end of the surviving text, beginning *ἐὰν ἀποφύγι στρατηγός* seems to deal with high-ranking deserters from the Byzantine army, a topic to which I will return. Similar provisions for the return of prisoners appear to have formed part of the agreement proposed on behalf of Krum by his envoy Dragomir in autumn 812 and rejected by Michael I Rhangabe. The terms were to be those of the treaty of 716 between the emperor Theodosios III and patriarch Germanos and Khan Tervel, which was later renewed by Khan Kormisoš a generation later³. It is interesting that Khan Krum wished to add a further clause requiring each state to return deserters who had acted against their country of origin, a condition which allegedly caused the rejection of the proposed treaty by the Byzantine side⁴.

As a result the prisoners, both those captured after the victory at Versinikia and those taken in Adrianople a little later, were not released on ransom, but were removed to Bulgarian territory north of the Danube and settled there. This was clearly a departure from normal practice. These captives became something of an embarrassment to the Bulgarians, and were perceived as a potential cause of disaffection among such of their subjects as were Christians or were sympathetic to Christianity. This partly explains the harsh treatment which they met with at the hands of Khan Diceng — probably a brother of Krum —, when a number

1. Beševliev V., *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1963, No 41.

2. Scriptor Incertus, 339.9—10.

3. Theoph., 497.16—28.

4. Ibid.

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of them, including Metropolitan Manuel of Adrianople, were put to death in a brutal fashion for refusing to eat meat during Lent — a symbolic renunciation of Christianity⁵. But personal and political conflicts within the Bulgarian leadership after the sudden death of Krum no doubt contributed to the instability and tenseness of the situation. The unfortunate captives provided a handy scapegoat. The further fate of those who escaped martyrdom will be discussed below. There were no doubt also prisoners of war who ended up as slaves in Bulgaria, particularly those captured before the peace treaty of 716 as well as those privately taken away by their captors. But we know virtually nothing about them. No conclusions can be drawn from the long and circumstantial, but undated, story of the young soldier, son of the dux Leo, who was taken prisoner by the Bulgarians and enslaved, and later, through the intercession of St George, was instantaneously returned to his family as he was about to serve a meal to his Bulgarian master⁶. This is a hagiographical topos, which occurs elsewhere in the Miracles of St George as well as in those of St Nicholas, usually in connection with a prisoner held by the Arabs in Crete.

Another category of Byzantines in Bulgaria is clergymen. Anastasius Bibliothecarius tells us that when the Bulgarian delegate Peter, in attendance at the Synod in Constantinople in 867, was asked whether, when the Bulgarians first crossed the Danube, they found Greek or Latin clergy in the newly conquered territory, he replied that they found Greek clergy⁷. The delegate was unlikely to have had detailed knowledge of events which took place nearly two centuries earlier. But it is a priori probable that there were Greek priests in the region between the Danube and the Balkan range, just as there were Greek laymen. We hear little of precision about Christians in Bulgaria until the repressive measures taken after the death of Krum. Most of the martyrs whose names are recorded appear to have been Greek, probably prisoners of war. But the longest list, that in the *kanon* on the martyrs⁸, contains two Slavonic names, Χοτόμηρος and Λουβομηρός (so accented by the editor), as well as one probable and one possible Protobulgarian name, Κούπεργος and Ἀσφήρ⁹. The presence of these four apparently Bulgarian Christians among the martyrs reminds us that some of the Greek names too may be those not of Byzantine prisoners but of Bulgarian Christians. There was clearly a Christian community in early ninth-century Bulgaria. There must therefore have been Christian clergymen. And whatever their ethnic origin, these priests must have been Greek in language and culture. The further spread of Christianity in Bulgaria during the 9th century¹⁰ can only have increased the number and importance of the Greek clergy in the country. There was, however, no Christian hierarchy in Bulgaria, so far as can be seen. Priests in Bulgaria must have been ordained by and responsible to bishops in Byzantine territory.

The last, and in many ways the most interesting category is that of Byzantines who chose to live in Bulgaria. Most of those mentioned in our sources are what would in modern parlance be called defectors. I prefer to use the more neutral term "immigrant". The predominance of deserters in the Greek sources is partly

5. Theoph. Cont. 216.12—217.9.

6. Aufhauser, J. B., *Miracula S. Georgii*, Leipzig, 1913, 18—40.

7. *Historiae de Vita Romanorum Pontificum*, PL 128. 1391—92.

8. Follieri E., I. Dujčev, 'Un'acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell' anno 813', Byzantion 33, 1963, 75—85.

9. Follieri—Dujčev, op. cit. 104.

10. Cf. Zlatarski, V. N., *Istorija na bulgarskata dържава prez srednite vekove*, 1, Sofia, 1918, 332—352.

11. Theoph. 497. 24—25.

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due to their concentration on military affairs. Other groups can be only dimly perceived. Merchants are mentioned in the treaty of 716¹¹. And one must not forget the humble but literate Greeks who composed or translated, and carved in stone, the Protobulgarian inscriptions. They may have been mostly Greeks who remained in their towns and villages after these were incorporated in the Bulgarian state. Their possession of functional literacy in Greek is evidence for the existence of some kind of elementary teaching.

When Krum captured Serdica in 809 some senior officers escaped to Byzantine territory and appealed to the emperor Nicephorus to pardon them for having lost the fortress to the enemy. When the emperor rejected their appeal, they deserted to the Bulgarians. Among these officers was the spatharios Eumathios, a skilled engineer¹². It is not clear where this happened. Presumably the officers met Nicephorus somewhere between Serdica and Constantinople, from where it would be easy to reach Bulgarian territory. The five generals with Greek names — Leo, Bardanes, Ioannes, Kordyles and Gregoras — who figure in Krum's order of battle in 813 or 814¹³, may have been among the deserters from Serdica three or four years earlier. But I am inclined to think that they went over to the Bulgarians earlier. It is unlikely that Krum, who expected to face a pitched battle with the Byzantine army, would have entrusted such important field commands to men who had changed sides so recently and in circumstances in which there was little else they could do, if they hoped to stay alive.

In 811 Byzantios, an ἐπιστήθιος οἰκέτης of Nicephorus, went over to the Bulgarians while the Byzantine army was encamped at Marcellae on the frontier¹⁴. His departure must have been planned in advance, and he must have had at least one accomplice, since he took with him a βασιλική ἐσθής and a hundred pounds of gold, much more than one man could carry. Whether he had offended the emperor and feared punishment, or merely thought that he had a greater chance of bettering his situation in Bulgaria, we cannot tell. It is not even clear that he was a slave; οἰκέτης is a word of imprecise connotation in later Greek. But his social status was clearly a humble one. When one looks closely at the story, it is hard to believe that Byzantios' somewhat cumbered defection was not concerted in advance with a contact on the Bulgarian side.

About the same time another member of Nicephorus' staff deserted to Bulgaria. A converted Arab, a skilled engineer, was dissatisfied with his situation and asked the emperor to increase his pay. Nicephorus' response was to reduce it. When the engineer complained, he had him flogged. Mortally offended and probably afraid, the man then fled to the Bulgarians and built for them the siege-engines which they used to attack Mesembria¹⁵. No date is given for his desertion. Krum took Mesembria in late autumn 812. It probably took the engineer at least two years to win the confidence of his new master, train his fellow-workers, and build the machines. So he is likely to have deserted before Nicephorus' last campaign in 811. Probably the event belongs to the same period as the desertion of the other military engineer, Eumathios, in or about 809. Morale in the Byzantine army seems then to have been very low. After the capture of Serdica Nicephorus hastily transferred "Christians" — presumably soldiers — from every theme to the Sklaviniai. The men transferred were in despair, we are told, at the loss of the property which their ancestors had built up. Their situation, they said, was nothing but αἰχμαλωσία. Some committed suicide. Many cursed the emperor and prayed for an enemy attack¹⁶. Even allowing for the historian's prejudice against Nicephorus, it is clear that this was fertile ground for disaffection and desertion.

The last of the Byzantine immigrants mentioned in the sources for the period is Constantine Patzikes. He was married to a sister of Krum, and thus absorbed into the Bulgarian ruling group. In June 813 he and his young son — evidently a favourite of his formidable uncle — accompanied Krum to the rendezvous

12. Theoph. 485. 11.

13. Beševliev, op. cit. Nr. 47; for the date cf. p. 228.

14. Theoph. 490. 15—17.

15. Theoph. 498.7—13.

16. Theoph. 486.10—22.

with the emperor Leo V by the shore of the Golden Horn, near the city walls, a rendezvous proposed by Krum and turned by Leo into the occasion of an attempted assassination. The fourth member of the Bulgarian party was an official whom Greek sources describe as the khan's logothete. Perhaps he was the kavkhan. The story need not be recounted in detail here. When Krum realized that he had fallen into an ambush he was helped by his companions to mount his horse and escaped. The other three members of the party were seized by the Byzantines. The "logothete" was killed on the spot. Patzikes and his son were taken into the city, where they are likely to have been put to death¹⁷. Both the Scriptor incertus and Ps.-Symeon say that Patzikes had "fled to Bulgaria many years previously". Now his son was in 813 old enough to look after Krum's horse when the khan dismounted. He is likely to have been twelve years old at latest. This puts Patzikes' marriage to Krum's sister back to the year 800 at the latest, probably before Krum acceded to the throne. He must therefore have already enjoyed the confidence of Krum's predecessor — probably his father — Khan Kardam. When he "fled" to Bulgaria we do not know. It could conceivably have been during one of the last campaigns of Constantine V. But a more likely date would be after the Bulgarian victory at Marcellae in 792. What were the qualities that attracted the notice of Kardam and eventually won for Patzikes the hand of the khan's daughter we can only guess. But it is clear that he was a person of importance in Bulgaria, trusted by two successive rulers. When he accompanied Krum to the meeting with Leo V, he was no more interpreter, as some historians have suggested; he was a kinsman and counsellor, to whose hands the khan entrusted his life.

The Byzantine immigrants to Bulgaria whose names are recorded are but the tip of an iceberg whose true dimensions we cannot know. Some of them no doubt had good reasons for leaving Byzantine territory with what haste they could. Others may have found "barbarian" society more to their taste than Byzantine, like the Greek from Viminacium whom Priskos of Panion met in the camp of Attila, who had married a Hun wife and become a confidant of the Hun Onegesios¹⁸, or like Eustathios of Apamea, who accompanied a marauding band of Huns as their chief adviser on a raid into Persia about 484¹⁹. It must be remembered, too, that migration to Bulgaria did not involve conversion to another faith, as did migration to the Caliphate.

What is more important than the immigrants' reasons for going to Bulgaria are the considerations which made them welcome there. In some cases there is no problem. They possessed technical skills not readily available in Bulgaria. The two military engineers are a case in point. We may be sure, too, that when Krum found a stock of Greek fire and siphones in Mesembria in 813, he took care also to find men who knew how to maintain and operate them. And though we have no evidence one way or the other, it would be surprising if Kardam, Krum and Omurtag did not have Greek doctors in their court.

But there is a more important consideration. Quite apart from technical skills many Byzantines, especially those who had held civil or military office, possessed administrative and organizational skill and experience. Bulgarian rulers such as Krum and Omurtag, and probably also Kardam, were engaged in a effort to break down tribal separatism and tribal loyalty among both Bulgars and Slavs, and to replace tribal administration by centralized royal government with a clearly defined administrative structure. They had need of men with experience of Byzantine administration. Apart, too, from their Byzantine skill and experience, such men, just because they were outsiders, were better fitted to carry out the reforms aimed at by their royal master than would a Bulgar or Slav enmeshed; whether he wished it or not, in a network of rights and duties based on kinship or tribal identity.

But there was always a hidden danger in entrusting Byzantines with positions

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17. Scriptor Incertus, 342—344; Ps.—Symeon, 612—614; Symeon Logothete (Leo Grammaticus), 207—208.

18. Priscus, frg. 8.

19. Zachariah of Mitylene, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, trad. E. W. Brooks (CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, ser. 3.6) Louvain, 1924, 14.

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of power in the Bulgarian state. They too brought with them ethnic, religious and cultural loyalties which could be abjured but could not be completely forgotten. The point is illustrated by the story of Kordyles, who has already been mentioned above. The civilians and soldiers whom Krum captured in Adrianople in 813 were transported by the Bulgarians, with all their belongings, beyond the Danube and settled there, perhaps to protect a frontier always liable to be threatened by pastoral nomads. After a brief period of persecution (cf. above) they seem to have been left to their own devices — a compact mass of Greek-speaking Christians somewhere in southern Bessarabia or Moldavia. They preserved their sense of Byzantine identity and their hope of returning some day to their native land. Their situation must have been not unlike that of the Greeks settled in Pannonia by the Avars in the early 7th century²⁰. Some may actually have succeeded in returning to Byzantine territory in 825, allegedly by the miraculous intervention of St Joannikios²¹. The hagiographer seems to have thought that the Byzantines were held in a prison under guard, a point which casts some doubt on the whole story, which is full of hagiographical *topoi*. Be that as it may, most of them were still north of the Danube in 836/7, by which time a whole new generation must have grown up. Their governor or military commander — the Greek source calls him στρατηλάτης, was none other than Kordyles, who had commanded a division of Krum's army in 813. He must by now have grown grey in the Bulgarian service, and he had a son named Bardas who was ἠνδρειωμένος πάνυ. He made his way to Constantinople, perhaps on an official mission, but evidently with the knowledge and consent of the Bulgarian authorities, since his son Bardas was appointed to carry out his duties in his absence. Once there, he concerted a plan with the emperor Theophilus to send ships to bring back the exiled Greeks to Byzantine territory. Some kind of uprising took place, headed by Kordyles, who had now returned from Constantinople, and an unknown Tzantzas. The Bulgarian force, sent to quell the uprising, met with stiff resistance, and called on the aid of a body of Hungarians, who were probably settled east of the river Seret. The Hungarians made the most of their opportunity and offered to let the Greeks go away wherever they liked provided they handed over all their property. The Greeks refused, held out against the Hungarians for three days, and on the fourth the imperial fleet appeared. Their embarkation was delayed by further Hungarian or Bulgarian attacks, but in the end they all escaped, Kordyles presumably among them, sailed to Constantinople, were welcomed by the emperor and returned εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν²². This story, which occurs in a digression on the ancestry of Basil I, has no doubt been "tidied up" by Symeon or his source. But it contains many authentic details, and cannot be wholly invention. The danger of divided loyalties became greater after the conversion of Bulgaria. Prince Boris' repeated approaches to the western church show him acutely aware of the problem of a potential Byzantine "fifth column" and of Byzantine cultural hegemony in his country. In the end the arrival in Bulgaria of the disciples of Cyril and Methodius with the liturgy and other essential Christian material in Slavonic translation, and the ensuing planned and rapid formation of a Slavonic clergy, saved Bulgaria from too great cultural and political dependence on her powerful neighbour, and set her on a course, the influence of which on the history of eastern Europe can scarcely be exaggerated. But that is another story.

20. Lemerle P., *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius*, Paris, 1979, I, 227—228.

21. *Vita S. Ioannicii*, AASS Nov. II, Brussels, 1984, 350—360.

22. Symeon Logothete (Leo Grammaticus), 231—232.

**Basil II and the Decline
of the Theme System**

**Василий II и закат
темной системы**

JOHN V.A. FINE

**Basil II and the Decline
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Basil II is usually considered one of Byzantium's greatest emperors, and his greatness is usually associated with his military achievements. Romilly Jenkins, for example, wrote: "Basil II was the greatest military genius and the greatest military organizer of his time, one of the greatest of all time."¹ And under Basil, as a result of conquests, the Empire reached its greatest territorial extent in the east and, since the 6th century, in the west. Yet after his death the Empire entered a period of military decline, which resulted in the two great defeats of 1071, Manzikert and Bari, and a series of territorial losses. Usually the decline is blamed on Basil's successors. I would like to suggest that a great part of the blame should fall on Basil himself.

After Basil II's succession, on the death of Tzimiskes in 976, the new emperor was greeted with civil war as the magnates Bardas Skleros and then Bardas Phocas tried to seize the throne. The details of one long civil war, which can be found in Schlumberger², do not concern us here; but what is important is that six full years of warfare occurred between 976 and 989, during which all the themes of Anatolia were involved as the fighting engulfed all Anatolia, with rebel and imperial armies moving back and forth across the peninsula, recruiting and buying (with privileges and cash) the support of the thematic armies and of the great magnates with their retainers. We can follow the recruiting, see the different regions first support one side and then the other, first be occupied by one group's forces and then by those of the other, and see the generals changing sides, usually taking their troops with them. And throughout we find men deserting, men being killed, and thematic armies splitting, with a part seceding to follow a rebel while the remnants, if too small to stand alone, were incorporated into another military unit loyal to Basil. Devastation of agricultural land from battle and from foraging troops took away the livelihood of both tax payers and landholders whose estates had supported the service of the thematic soldiers. In such a situation we would expect lands to have been deserted by peasants who would have migrated elsewhere, surely often seeking protection on great estates. So, at the end of all this, in 990, what really remained of the thematic armies of Anatolia?

These armies were probably in shambles by 990. What then, did Basil II do about restoring them? Presumably some of the deserters and most of the men who had remained loyal to the emperor and had been incorporated into other units during the war were restored to their original thematic units. These, however, would probably have been a small percentage of the pre-976 total for these thematic armies. Thus further restoration was necessary. One normal way to rebuild armies was to resettle people from other parts of the Empire (or recently conquered regions) in the region needing manpower. What data do we have on such resettlement? Before turning to the limited evidence, it must be stressed, however, that sources are few and those we have are scanty in the information they contain. Thus much resettlement could have occurred with no record of it surviving. And this point it must be emphasized that my argument is partially based on silence, something always dangerous to do and something that is particularly treacherous when one is dealing with a period from which so few sources

1. Jenkins, R., *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries AD 610–1071*, New York, 1966, p. 301.

2. Schlumberger, G., *L'Épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, I, II, 1896, 1900.

es survive. As a result of this methodological short-coming, my conclusions should be taken as tentative, and my paper should thus be considered a think-piece, calling for further study rather than a work whose conclusions have been solidly demonstrated.

We certainly do have a record of resettlement of peoples under Basil. And none of the resettlements mentioned in our sources affected central Anatolia. We hear of captured Bulgarians — captured in Basil's long campaigns to subdue Samuel and annex Bulgaria — taken from their Balkan homeland. In the first case our source, Ibn Athir, does not give their destination, simply reporting that in 995 they were deported and a number of Greeks were brought in to take their place³. Whether any became soldiers in their new locations is not stated. In a second case, in the year 1000, Bulgarians captured in Thessaly (where they had served at garrisons) were sent to colonize the banks of the Maritsa in Thrace⁴. In our third case captured Bulgarians were transferred to lands on the far eastern frontier. This last case, occurring in 1015 or 1016, had Bulgarians taken from the region of Moglena and re-settled in the region of Vaspurakhan⁵. Thus out of 3 cases, the 2 in which specific destinations are given show re-settlement of Slavs in Thrace and in the far eastern border region. None are said to have been sent to repopulate central or western Anatolia.

When we turn to transfers in the opposite direction, namely people from the eastern frontiers being resettled, the results will be the same. In our earliest example the Armenian Asoghig reports Armenians transplanted from their homeland to Macedonia at some point shortly before 988. In 993, according to Yahya of Antioch, after Michael Bourtzes attacked Latakia in the region of Aleppo, its population was transferred en masse to the empire⁷. We are neither told where, nor whether any of these people were settled as soldiers. In 999 after the Byzantines captured Palestinian Caesarea, many Muslims chose the depart. The Byzantines repopulated the town with Armenians⁸. What is mentioned is urban resettlement, thus presumably this was not a military settlement. Furthermore, even if it was, it concerned the frontier. In 1021, during Basil's campaign against the Georgians, much of the population of Basian was transferred to the Chaldean theme, according to the Armenian Aristakes of Lastivertsi⁹. Though we are not told they were settled as soldiers, they were, in any case, settled in a frontier theme. Thus, just as in the case of Balkan resettlement, none of the transferred eastern peoples are mentioned as being settled in central or western Anatolia.

In all our cases where specific places of settlement are mentioned we find that the people in question were settled in the Balkans or on the eastern frontier. And the eastern frontier had also been denuded of troops in the civil wars, for frontier troops, too, had been recruited and played a very active role in the long civil warfare. Clearly the frontiers were the most important regions in which to rebuild defenses and were the ones that had to be dealt with first. And we notice that Basil was still concerned with frontier settlement as late as 1015, if not 1021.

In fact, according to Oikonomides, the frontier duchies or *katepanates* had also been emphasized at the expense of the internal themes even under Basil's two predecessors, Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes¹⁰. Basil's revamping of the Balkan themes was a logical move, similar to that of manning the eastern frontiers, since the greatest — and only external — threat to the Empire came from the Bulgarians. Thus it was necessary to concentrate troops in the Balkans. However, though we find people being settled in the Balkan themes and on the eastern frontier, no source that I know of mentions settling people in the themes of central and western Anatolia. At the same time we must stress that the Anatolian themes had become much less important. The frontiers were no longer in central Anatolia as they had once been when Cappadocia and the original

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3. Schlumberger, II, p. 57.
4. Schlumberger, II p. 223.
5. Cedrenus/Skylitzes, II, Bonn Corpus, 1839, pp. 461—62.
6. Schlumberger, II, p. 55.
7. Rosen, V.R., *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca, Izvlečenija iz letopisi-Jahji Antiohijskogo*, St. Petersburg, 1883, p. 30.
8. Rosen, P. 40.
9. Schlumberger, II, pp. 481—82.
10. Oikonomides, N., *L'Organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e—XI^e siècles et Le Taktion de l'Escorial*, Rapports XIV Congrès international des études Byzantines, II, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 73—90.

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Armeniak and Anatolic themes had been basis for frontier defence. By Basil's time the frontiers were pushed way to the east into Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. And even here, on this eastern frontier, during Basil's reign, we find a very limited amount of warfare, and what there was was initiated by the Byzantines. There were no significant Arab raids into Anatolia during Basil's reign. Thus it is evident that remanning the Anatolian thematic armies would not have been a matter of top priority for Basil. And since large numbers of the troops that had been there (including thematic troops) had supported the rebel magnates against the emperor, and since members of these great Anatolian families continued to fill the positions of strategoi of the Anatolian themes under Basil — while retaining their popularity with local troops — Basil would have possibly felt it safer not to reman them too fully. In fact it has been shown that Basil, because of his suspicion of the Anatolian commanders, built up the European armies and depended on them even when he campaigned in the east. At the same time while there was not threat from the east, which might have necessitated rebuilding the eastern themes, and while the emperor would have been worried about placing too many troops under the command of the Anatolian strategoi, Basil's main military concern and activity, for more than fifteen years, were directed at wiping out Samuel's Bulgarian state in the Balkans. Thus he needed troops in the Balkans rather than in Anatolia. And we find him resettling Armenians there in the late 980s and Greeks in 995. Most probably other floating potential troops would have been sent to and utilized in this theatre as well. Presumably it would chiefly have been captured Slavs, whose loyalty to Byzantium against Samuel might have been suspect, who would have been settled in the east. And it is this element we find being settled on the eastern frontier in 1015.

So with Anatolia not threatened at all, we may suspect that Basil would have seen no pressing need to restock the Anatolian themes and would have concentrated his energies on more pressing matters. Thus I am going to suggest — though emphasizing that I have material only to illustrate, rather than prove my conclusion and also that I have found no material to argue against it — that Basil may not have rebuilt the thematic armies of Anatolia to an extent, leaving them in greatly reduced numbers. That he did this is also suggested by the fact that since his reign, for the first time, the armies of Europe came numerically to balance or almost balance those of Anatolia; something that had not previously been the case¹¹. Though Basil clearly added greatly to the numbers of the European armies, this parity would still not have occurred had Basil brought the Anatolian armies back up to former numbers. As a result his successors inherited undersized Anatolian armies. They were not to rebuild them and thus the Byzantine defenses were to be insufficient against the Turks toward mid-century. Though these successors, too, should be faulted, still the initial weakening and failure to rebuild, which was to have such disastrous consequences, seems to rest with Basil.

Thus from hindsight, if this theory is in fact accurate, we may condemn Basil for this. But of course, we must also stress that at Basil's time there was no danger from the east and no pressing need to bolster the themes lying inland behind the frontier duchies. Had the Seljuks been making their appearance during Basil's reign, he presumably would have taken steps to rectify the weakness of the Anatolian armies. And Basil cannot be blamed for the failure of his successors to adjust military defenses to newly emerging realities by repairing these themes when the Seljuks came onto the horizon in the 1040s.

Tremendous efforts have been directed at studying the origins of the themes. Equal attention would be directed to the problem of their decline. My paper suggests we look at Basil's reign rather than either examining the problem as chiefly pre-Basil by emphasizing the absorption by the powerful of military hold-

11. Kaegi, W., *Regionalism in the Balkan Armies of the Byzantine Empire*, Actes du II^e Congrès international des Etudes du Sud-est Européen, II, Athens, 1972, pp. 397–405.

ings or post-Basil by stressing the incompetence and anti-militarism of his successors. My paper is hardly more than a call to carry out such a study, a study that should be undertaken by scholars who know Arabic, Armenian, and other eastern languages. And in carrying it out scholars should not be hypnotized by a myth of Basil's awesome power and greatness. If his forces really were so powerful, why did it take him over 20 years to conquer the Bulgarians? After all, his predecessor Tzimiskes (also engaged in eastern campaigns) was able to do the job — minus Macedonia — in two years. Basil's forces also suffered from time to time defeats in both the east and the west, and in the east his opponents were frequently petty — to medium-sized emirates. After his death there clearly was considerable decline in the quality of the Byzantine army. There is no question about that. But if the army's strength in 1025 turns out to have been less than is generally assumed, then that decline will turn out to have been less dramatic.

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1. Cette étude doit s'intéresser dans un travail plus vaste concernant les baronnies de Corfou, que je suis en train de préparer avec la collaboration de Spyros Arakelian. 2. Après les recherches que nous avons effectuées dans les Archives de Venise et de Constantinople, nous avons pu établir d'une communication récente à la Société d'Ornithologie, le jeudi 24 janvier 1985.

CONSTANTINE TSIRPANLIS

Church Relations between Moscow, Constantinople and Alexandria Towards the End of the 16th Century¹

The most important historical event in the Eastern Church of 1590's is certainly the erection of the Moscow Patriarchate and its official Synodal recognition in 1593.

The two chief protagonists in this unique event in the history of Eastern Christianity were (besides the Moscovite Tsar Feodor), the two most outstanding post-Byzantine Patriarchs, Jeremias II Tranos of Constantinople (c.1536—1595)², and Meletios Pegas of Alexandria (1549—1601)³. Both of these two great Patriarchs were blessed by similar achievements of decisive impact and significance upon the Church, the cultural and national life and history of their posterity: 1) they initiated the first Orthodox — Protestant — Roman Catholic "Ecumenical Dialogue"; 2) they considerably improved and systematized ecclesiastical administration, theological education, social and family morals; 3) they solved the major problem of the Moscow Tsardom in its desire for a Patriarchate, giving it the canonical, theological, ecclesiastical and juridical justification, and the glory which it believed was its due.

The main purpose of this paper is to critically evaluate the contributions to and the involvement of Jeremias Tranos, and of Meletios Pegas in the erection of the Moscow Patriarchate (1588—1593). Further, to show the beneficial impact of its establishment for the Russian Church especially, and the ecumenical significance of the role which both Jeremias and Pegas played in establishing the Moscow Patriarchate.

The Sources

I used not only the extensive (and still untranslated) correspondence of Jeremias Tranos and Meletios Pegas⁴, but also their contemporary synodical decisions and documents⁵ as well, as the *Χρονογράφος* of (Pseudo) Dorotheos of Monemvasia⁶, and the poetic *diatribes* on the *Erection of the Russian Patriarchate* written by Archbishop Arsenios of Elasson (Greece) — an eye-witness and personal accompanist of Jeremias during his journey to Moscow. These *Memoirs* of Arsenios, in poetic form, published by Sathas⁷, give a lively picture of the receptions and ceremonies, the negotiations and deliberations connected with Jeremias' visit to Moscow. Unfortunately, this work as well as all the aforementioned documents and numerous letters of Jeremias and Meletios, still remain untranslated.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that all the above Greek sources although not entirely unknown to modern historians such as Steven Runciman and Charles Graves, seem to be underestimated and their important information, overlooked by them⁸.

Patriarch Jeremias' outstanding achievement in his third⁹ and last patriarchate (1586—1595) was the establishment of the new Patriarchate of Moscow.

In 1585 the Patriarch of Antioch, Joachim, came to visit Moscow in search of alms. The Tsar Feodor, son and successor of Ivan IV, suggested to Patriarch

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1. Paper presented by the author at the Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Washington, D. C., August 3—8, 1986.
2. For the background and career of Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos see my study: *A Prosopography of Jeremias Tranos and his Place in the History of the Eastern Church in the Patristic And Byzantine Review* 4/3, 1985, 155—174.
3. The best biographical account of Patriarch Meletios Pegas is still that published by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos in his classic book, *Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας*: 62 — 1934, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1935, pp. 612ff, which was recently reprinted in Athens, Greece, 1985, and still remains untranslated.
4. I am especially grateful to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Dr. Methodios Fouyas for His kindness in sending me his valuable publication of Pegas' correspondence, ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ ΠΗΓΑ Πάπα καὶ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ἐκδιδόμεναι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 296 χειρογράφου τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀθήναι 1976, Σελ. 375. This unique work was of course one of my basic sources, from now on LMP.
5. Published together with several letters of Jeremias by Sathas, K.N., Βιογραφικόν Σχέδιον περί τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Β., Ἀθήναι 1870, reprinted by Pan. S. Pournaras, Thessaloniki, 1979, I used this last edition.
6. The *Chronographos* of Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia is included in Pournaras' re-edition of Sathas, op.cit., pp. 3—34.
7. Sathas, op.cit., 35—81.
8. See Runciman, S., *Patriarch Jeremias II and the Patriarchate of Moscow* in Aksum — Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios (Fouyas), London, 1985, 235—240; and Graves, Ch., *The Ecumenical Significance of the Role of Meletios Pegas in the Erection of the Moscow Patriarchate* in the same Festschrift, pp. 409—422.
9. I dealt with Jeremias' first two patriarchates and with his life in another study of mine published in *The Patristic And Byzantine Review* 4/3, 1985, 155—174 and in my book *The Historical And Ecumenical Significance of Jeremias II's Correspondence with the Lutherans (1573—1581)*, New York: The American Institute For Patristic And Byzantine Studies, Inc., 1982.

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Joachim the elevation of the Moscow Metropolitanate to a Patriarchate. Joachim promised to consult with his fellow-Patriarchs, and on his way home he stopped in Constantinople and told the Patriarch Jeremias of the Tsar's request. Jeremias did not find such a request unreasonable, and it could be granted, supported by *three* basic reasons:

1. The venerable Constitutional Tradition of the Eastern Church, on the basis of the 28th canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) according to which since Moscow was in 1580's the seat of the greatest Orthodox potentate, could be regarded as a Third Rome, though *not the Third Rome*, i. e. as the protector and defender of the entire Orthodox world.
2. Since the Roman Catholic Polish and Lithuanian kingdoms plus the Lutherans and Calvinists had invaded and already divided southwestern Russia, and since Moscow was the strongest and most unified political and ecclesiastical leadership, it could as Patriarchate exercise evenmore efficient authority and influence in eliminating the anti-Orthodox attacks and damage against Russia.
3. Jeremias' positive response to the Tsar's request and the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate proved to be providentially salvific for Russia in the troubled 21 years after Tsar Feodor's death (1598—1619). Because it was the Church during those critical years that preserved Orthodoxy in Russia, and headed the national identity against the Poles, even though the first Russian Patriarch, Job, was forced to retire, blind and enfeebled, when Feodor's chief minister and brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, died (1605). Furthermore, due to the power of the Moscow Patriarchate from 1619 to 1666, the Turkish pressures on the other four Patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) became less destructive. Their churches and institutions were supported financially by the most powerful and the richest Orthodox country, Russia, and even their prelates were protected and defended by special appeals of the Tsar to the Ottoman Sultans.

On the other hand, by the religious autonomy granted to the Russian Patriarchate, the Patriarch of Constantinople did not substantially lose his authority and spiritual primacy, even when the Russian Patriarchate was formally abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great. The story became different, however, after 1917 when the Patriarchate of Moscow was re-established without reference to Constantinople.

Now, Jeremias' response to the Tsar's request was delayed until July 1588, because of critical domestic problems and his colleagues' intrigues.

Certainly Jeremias' procedure in elevating the Moscovite Metropolitanate to a Patriarchate has been severely criticized by even his closest aids (Hierotheos of Monemvasia, Arsenios of Elasson, and especially by the Patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas) for being exceedingly superficial, rash, dullwitted, stubborn, inconsistent, and defiant¹⁰. Such a criticism — although partially true — is unfair and conditioned by personality conflicts, animosity, and church politics of those times.

It is true that Patriarch Jeremias being in Moscow (July 1588 — June 1589?) in search of alms, was mostly under great pressure from the Tsar as well, as from his own debts to the Sultan, by the troubles, persecution, and intrigues of his colleagues and enemies from Constantinople, and of course from the Jesuits and Protestants¹¹. Consequently, in his dealings with the Tsar in Moscow, Jeremias was not always consistent and acted rashly, but not *unwisely*, I believe. True, Jeremias would have almost accepted the Tsar's tempting proposal to make him «the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia» unless cautioned against this offer by Hierotheos of Monemvasia¹². That Jeremias, under those difficult circumstances was willing to accept such an offer might indicate also some deeper-unselfish — motivation. He would feel that, by becoming Patriarch of Moscow, Jeremias would have had more power and opportunity to motivate the Tsar to rescue

10. Cf. Pseudo-Dorotheos, in Sathas, op.cit., p. 21; Maximos Margounios' letters to Jeremias, in Sathas, pp. 125—126, 133; Theoleptos' letter 6: to Jeremias, in Sathas, pp. 152—156, esp. p. 155; and Meletios Pegas' letters to Jeremias (1591), Gabriel of Constantinople (1597), and to Metropolitan Dionysios of Herakleia (1591) in Archbishop Methodios: edition LMP, pp. 17—21, 95, 142—143.
11. Cf. Sathas, op. cit., 198—199, 195, 136—142, 148—152, 155, 160—162. Cf. LMP, 132—133. See also my book *The Historical And Ecumenical Significance of Jeremias II's Correspondence with the Lutherans*, New York, 1982, pp. 12—19 especially.
12. See Pseudo-Dorotheos, *Chronographos*, in Sathas, op.cit., pp. 21—22; cf. Arsenios, in Sathas, p. 42, and Petit, L., *Jeremie II Tranos in Vacant A.*, E. Mangelot, et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, VII, I, coll. 893.

Orthodoxy from the Turk. The Tsar's motivation for the offer was, on the other hand, less «unselfish». He merely wanted a Patriarchate established for Russia, since a metropolitanate was embarrassingly less prestigious for such a powerful nation. At any rate, Jeremias refused the offer to become Patriarch of Russia. A little later, on January 13, 1589, Tsar Feodor requested from Jeremias, through Boris Godunov, to elevate Job, the Metropolitan of Moscow, to «Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia». After some hesitation and heated discussion among Jeremias, Hierotheos and Arsenios, they finally decided to elect Job, adding their own request that they then be allowed to return home.

On Sunday, January 26, 1589, in the church of The Ever-Virgin Theotokos in Moscow, Job was enthroned as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, with great pomp, in the presence of Jeremias Tranos, a full assembly of Russian clergy and the whole Imperial court¹³. Diplomatically, and wisely enough, Jeremias refrained from officially giving (while at Moscow) any rank to the new Russian Patriarchate, despite the Tsar's old request (to the patriarch of Antioch, 1585) that the Moscow Patriarchate should rank third, after Constantinople and Alexandria! It is not known how the Tsar reacted to that «diplomatic» silence of Patriarch Jeremias.

In elevating and consecrating the new patriarch in Moscow, certainly Jeremias acted contrary to the Constitution of the Eastern Church, since it was imperative to have the formal approval of all the Orthodox Patriarchates in a general council or Pan-Orthodox Synod. According to his chief and bitterest critic, Meletios Pegas, the Patriarch of Alexandria, that action of Patriarch Jeremias was entirely unconstitutional, arbitrary and arrogant, and not even the principle of «Ecclesiastical *Oikonomia*» (i. e. extraordinary clemency, or concession, or compromise) could be applied to such a case¹⁴.

Actually, Jeremias himself was not unaware of that violation and arbitration, even while he was in Moscow. He became, however, more aware and restless after he returned to Constantinople due to Meletios' severe criticism and opposition. Therefore, Jeremias summoned, in May 1590, the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem to Constantinople in order to discuss together the matter in a formal Pan-Orthodox Synod. This synod was attended by Joachim of Antioch and Sophronios of Jerusalem, but not by Sylvester of Alexandria who died before he could obey the summons, and Meletios Pegas had not yet been ordained Bishop and Patriarch of Alexandria (August 5, 1590). Incidentally, in protest against Jeremias' action in Moscow, Meletios preferred to be ordained by Joachim of Antioch and two other insignificant bishops in *Cairo*, not in Constantinople, despite the frequent entreaties of Jeremias as appears in Meletios' letters to Jeremias written in 1591¹⁵.

That Pan-Orthodox synod (May 1590) was attended by forty-two Metropolitans, nineteen Archbishops and twenty Bishops. It is not known who were the delegates of the Alexandria Patriarchate if they were any. Further, that synod denied the privileged third rank to Moscow and Job was demoted to the *fifth* position, below that of Jerusalem¹⁶.

When the Tsar learned the bad news (in late summer of 1590), he became passionately angry, repeating arrogantly his former demand for the new Russian Patriarchate to be ranked above Antioch and next in order after Alexandria. Furthermore, knowing of the conflict between Meletios and Jeremias, the Tsar and the new Patriarch of Moscow started to manipulate the situation to their own advantage. Accordingly, the Tsar sent a letter directly to Meletios together with generous gifts and money. A little later, a Russian delegation was sent to Constantinople with 5564 gold pieces as a gift for the Patriarchs, their suites, and their monasteries. This delegation stayed in Constantinople until April 1593, that is until after the second Pan-Orthodox Synod which was convened there or February 12, 1593 under great pressure and the demand of Meletios

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13. For a full description of the consecration ceremony of Job as the Patriarch of Moscow see Regel, W., *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, St. Petersburg, 1891, 98—104; cf. pseudo-Dorotheos, in *Sathas*, op.cit., 46—51.
14. LMP, pp. 17—21.
15. LMP, pp. 19, 21, 49—50, 52, 59.
16. The essential part of the 1590 Synodical Act or *Praxis* is published in English translation, conveniently, in the *Festschrift* For Archbishop Methodios, London, 1985, p. 421, by Dr. Graves, Ch., Cf. *Letter AA* of Patriarch Meletios Pegas, in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 54/1, 1972, 83—84; and Phedias, VI., *Επίτομος Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία της Ρωσσίας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι σήμερα*, Ἀθήναι, 1967, 96f; Regel, W., op. cit., pp. 85—91; C. Delicanes, *Τὰ ἐν τοῖς κώδιξι τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκοπικοῦ σωζόμενα ἐπίσημα ἐκκλησιαστικά ἐγγραφα τὰ ἀφορώντα εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας, Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Κύπρου*. Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1905, Volume II, pp. 24—26.

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17. Cf. LMP, p. 74.

18. Cf. LMP, pp. 184—186.

19. Likewise, Joachim of Antioch highly esteemed Pegas both as a great theologian and as Church leader: LMP, pp. 50, 82, 87, 88, 94—95, 57—59, 147—148.

20. These letters are published in one volume, conveniently: LMP, pp. 57—71, 77—78, 92—93, 104—105, 167—178, 184—185, 187—188, 189—225, 239—246, 259—268, 270—275, 278—284, 286—290, 328—329, 335—336, 339—340, 360—365; and in Sathas, op. cit., pp. 92—98.

21. The famous controversial figure Cyril Lukaris (1572—1638) studied in Venice & Padua from 1587 to 1593. In 1593 he returned to Alexandria & was ordained by his uncle, Patriarch Meletios, priest & Archimandrite of the Alexandrian Throne. In 1595 Cyril was sent by Meletios to Poland where he taught in the Greek High School in Wilno and functioned as one of the three chief Patriarchal exarchs in South-western Russia. In 1601 Cyril succeeded Meletios (who died in that year) on the Throne of Alexandria, and in 1621 Lukaris became Patriarch of Constantinople. The bibliography on Lukaris is enormous. The two most recent studies of his person and controversial *Confession* are: Karmiris, J., *The problem of the so-called Lukarios OMOLOGIA*, in *Theologia* (Athens, Greece), 56/4, 1985, 657—693, (in Greek); and Vischer, L., *The Legacy of Kyrill Loukaris: A Contribution to the Orthodox-Reformed Dialogue*, in *Mid-Stream* 25/2, 1986, 165—183.

22. For a different approach to the nature and ecclesiastical function of the Russian lay-Brotherhoods see the interesting article of Dr. Moroziuk, R.P., *The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolia*, in *The Patristic And Byzantine Review*, 5/2, 1986, 104—127, and especially pp. 109—112, 122—123.

23. The Act of the Second Pan-Orthodox Synod of 1593 has been published in the recent re-edition (1979) of Sathas, op. cit., pp. 82—92, but there is no English translation of it as yet. Strangely, Sathas did not include the Act of 1590 Synod signed by three Patriarchs (Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem), and by 79 other hierarchs. For the Greek text of the 1590 synodical *Praxis* or Act see *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* ed. by Regel, W., Petropolis, 1891, and *Epistolae Patriarcharum Graecorum*, № 5. For an English translation see Graves, Ch., *The Ecumenical Significance of the Role of Meletios Pegas in the Erection of the Moscow Patriarchate*, in the *Festschrift For Archbishop Methodios*, London, 1985, p. 421.

24. See LMP, 66—69, 189, 191, 193.

25. Sathas, op. cit., 2: *Praxis*, p. 83.

26. Ibid., p. 82.

Pegas and of the Russians, of course¹⁷. Apparently, from August 1590 to 1597 the most powerful Patriarch was Meletios of Alexandria due to his theological genius, his honest ecclesiastical diplomacy and administrative ability¹⁸. Actually, Jeremias himself had recognized, in the past, Meletios' higher competency in handling the difficult issue of the Gregorian calendar reform as well as in the theological dialogue with the Protestants¹⁹. Naturally then, and of course providentially, Meletios was appointed as the leading spokesman at the second Pan-Orthodox Synod in 1593.

Besides Meletios' theological erudition, his honest diplomacy and administrative competency in handling the Russian request must be emphasized. The numerous and long letters which Patriarch Meletios wrote to the Tsar Feodor (with the Tsar Meletios corresponded up to 1597), the Tsaritsa Irene, Patriarch Job, Boris Godunov, and to other Russian church and state leaders, during those three years especially (1590—1593)²⁰, are the strongest evidence of Meletios' successful ecclesiastical career, of his deep piety and faith, and of his profound knowledge of Christian canonical and theological tradition. By those letters, as well as by his emissaries in Russia, especially his nephew & future Patriarch Cyril Lukaris²¹, who were the main organizers of the Russian Orthodox lay-Brotherhoods²², in order to counter-attack the infiltration and propaganda of the Jesuits and of the Protestants: proselytism, especially in southwestern Russia (Kiev, Wilno, Leontopolis, Brest, Lithuania, etc.), Meletios Pegas decisively aided the coming to birth and the emancipation of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate. Much is due, indeed, to Meletios Pegas not only for the right — canonical foundation in the erection of the Moscow Patriarchate, but also for the solid basis of the interorthodox relations between Moscow and the other Patriarchates. Such foundation was recognized by the Russians themselves, even as late as after 1652, when with the initiative of the Grecophile Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652—1666) the Moscow authorities printed the Acts of the Pan-Orthodox Synods of 1590 and 1593 in their official canonical and liturgical books (1656). Now, in order to fully understand and appreciate the fundamental contribution of Meletios Pegas to the erection of the Moscow Patriarchate, a short but accurate analysis of the synodical *Praxis* or the Act of 1583 should be attempted here²³.

First of all, Meletios Pegas himself explicitly states in his letters that, the Synodal *Tomos* (1593) of the declaration of the Moscow Patriarchate was solely his own labour²⁴; that even the convocation of the second Pan-Orthodox Synod in Constantinople (February 12, 1593) was the result of his own efforts and persistence. There is no reason to question the credibility and validity of such statements. In addition, it is more than clear from the *Praxis* itself of this Synod that Meletios Pegas not only played the most important role in its deliberations, but he also gave the opening speech at this synod²⁵. Interestingly, Meletios also represented in this Synod the Patriarch of Antioch Joachim who could not come to Constantinople²⁶.

The 1593 Synod was an exceptional ecclesiastical event, as to the number of important persons present (including the ambassador of the Tsar), and to the historical and ecumenical significance of its decisions. After the three long speeches of Patriarch Meletios (Patriarch Jeremias spoke only twice and even so very briefly agreeing with all the points of Meletios' speeches) the Synod promulgated eight canons related to 1) monastic discipline and conduct, i. e. all monks and monasteries had to obey their local bishop and not to be involved in secular affairs and politics; 2) an annual or semi-annual general meeting of bishops and priests in Constantinople, in order to review all church affairs, needs and problems of the five Patriarchates, and to reinforce the canons and Bible-study; 3) proper ordinations without any simony, and prohibition of priests' and bishops' interferences in the church affairs of other (than their own) parishes and jurisdic-

tion; 4) canonical obstacles to ordination and the same as causes of excommunication; 5) prohibition for clergymen to engage in business and secular professions; 6) the clergy's appropriate and modest clothing and appearance; 7) the bishops' duty to support even financially public and private religious education, teachers and poor students; 8) excommunication of all those clergymen and laymen, who would stubbornly continue to follow the Gregorian calendar in Easter celebration. Before these canons were ratified, Meletios first explained the reasons for the convocation of the Synod emphasizing the imperative need to eliminate any innovation (*νεωτερισμόν*) not only in doctrinal matters, but also in church administration and governance implying, of course, condemnation of the unconstitutional action of Patriarch Jeremias while in Moscow (1589)²⁷.

Following a very short positive response of Patriarch Jeremias, Meletios went on presenting in a comprehensive and persuasive way, the ancient canonical tradition of Church administration and its theological and ecclesiological aspects with the purpose of showing the undisputable right of the Moscovite Church to be elevated to Patriarchate. Meletios' *argumentatio* is of course more elaborate, well-documented, and systematically developed than that of the Act of the 1590 synod. Meletios explicitly refers to basic canons, the 28th of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) and to the 3rd canon of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381), which support his first argument that, since the Tsar of Moscow was the only great emperor upon earth, at that time, who was also Orthodox and the "new Constantine the Great"²⁸, the Church of Moscow deserved to be elevated to Patriarchate for the same reason as the New Rome (Constantinople) in the fourth and fifth centuries²⁹:

Κρίνω τοίνυν δίκαιον εἶναι τῇ Θεοῦ φιланθρωπία καὶ χάριτι κοσμηθεῖσαν βασιλεία πόλιν ὀρθοδοξοτάτην Μοσκοβίαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι κατὰ τὸν κη' κανόνα τῆς δ' συνόδου τῶν χλ' ἁγίων Πατέρων τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνεληθόντων... καὶ τὸν (γ') κανόνα τῶν ρν' θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῶν συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ γενομένου βασιλέως ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντίνου πόλει νέῃ Ρώμῃ.

As for the rank of the new Russian Patriarchate, Meletios again appealed to the ancient canonical tradition of the First Ecumenical Synod (Nicea, 325, canon 6), the Quinisext or the Synod in Trullo (691—692, canon 36) and to the 34th canon of the Holy Apostles, according to which the rank of the Moscow Patriarchate could not be any higher than the 5th place, following after the Jerusalem Patriarchate³⁰.

Meletios' proposal and reasoning was unanimously and enthusiastically accepted by the entire Synod including even Patriarch Jeremias, since that was the correct, traditional order among the Patriarchates. To the question why Jerusalem — the place of Jesus' birth and of the First Christian Church — was ranked fourth in that order, Meletios' answer was: "that was properly done in order not to give the wrong impression of Christ's kingdom as an earthly one"³¹. Thus, the *Pentarchy* or the rule of the Five Patriarchates (*Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow*) has primarily spiritual meaning and power, i. e. they represent the *Five* senses of the body which are the source of *life and motion*³².

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27. Ibid., p. 84.

28. Cf. LMP, 59, 66, 68, 77, 104—105, 175.

29. Sathas, op.cit., *Praxis*, 86—87.

30. Ibid., op.cit., 86, 88—89.

31. Ibid., p. 86. Also see LMP, 213—217 and especially pp. 215—216.

32. LMP, p. 217; cf. pp. 57, 347, 364.

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Tsargrad, the Queen of cities — ἡ Βασιλεύσα τῶν πόλεων — was seen by medieval Russians, as the unquestioned and unquestionable center of the world, the source of their Christian identity, and the cultural standards, by which their own cultural models were to be evaluated. Russian medieval texts do, of course, reflect also a trend towards national self-affirmation, but such trends were never directly anti-Byzantine. Neither Kiev, nor Moscow were ever formally parts of the Byzantine Empire, and, therefore, never fought — as Bulgarians and Serbians did — to free themselves from Byzantine direct political control. This explains the fact that the Byzantine ecclesiastical administration was accepted for so long by the "Russians", and ended only as a consequence of the Council of Florence in the 15th century. Between the 10th and the 15th centuries, for almost five hundred years, loyalty to the Byzantine legacy was the underlying fact of Russian culture with tensions and hostile incidents being exceptions, rather than the rule.

This cultural, religious and emotional connection of Russia with Byzantium is rooted, first of all, in the fact that Prince Vladimir of Kiev adopted Byzantine Christianity, as the official religion of the Kievan state.

As we celebrate this year the Millenium of Russian Christianity, the famous words of Prince Vladimir's ambassadors, reporting to their master after their visit to Constantinople in 987, are being quoted almost too often: "We went to Greece, they reported, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For one earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We know only that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty¹". In the same account of the Baptism of Russia, reported by the Primary Chronicle, there is the long discourse of an anonymous Greek *philosopher*. Addressed to the prince, this discourse is also presented as having had a decisive influence upon the final decision by Vladimir to accept Christianity. If the ambassadors were impressed by the esthetic splendor of St Sophia and the beauty of the Byzantine liturgy, the prince himself came to recognize the intellectual superiority of Christian *philosophy* described to him by the Greek scholar.

The Chronicle's account of those events certainly involves some embellished mythology, but they also reflect historical and psychological reality: the cultural, esthetical and intellectual fascination of Kievan Russians with the ancient superior civilization of Christian Byzantium.

There is no doubt that Prince Vladimir's marriage to the sister of the greatest of all medieval Byzantine emperors, Basil II, contributed greatly to the establishment of permanent cultural ties. The marriage went directly against the stern and proud protocol of the Byzantine court: Basil's grandfather, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, had strictly forbidden marriages between female members of the Byzantine imperial family and *barbarian* rulers. Constantine had allowed some tolerances only for marriages with Frankish princes, because of the notion that they, in a sense, could still be considered *Romans*².

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1. *Povest' Vremennykh let*, ed. Likhachev, D. S., Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, I, p. 75; Tr.: Cross, S. H., *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1930, p. 198.
2. *De administratio imperio*, 13, ed. and tr. by Moravcsik, Gy. and Jenkins, R. J. H., Dumbarton Oaks Texts. I, Washington, D. C. 1967, p. 71.

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Of course, the marriage of Vladimir to the Greek princess was the result of political necessity and was conditioned by Vladimir's Christian baptism, but, as a result, the Russian prince could not be considered simply a *barbarian*: he was now the emperor's brother-in-law, which placed upon him cultural obligations. Vladimir and particularly his son Yaroslav, successfully fulfilled such obligations. A case in point is Kiev's Cathedral of St Sophia, decorated by the best mosaicists imported from Byzantium, as well as local artists. Writers and rhetoricians of Kievan Rus also imitated Byzantine models. Emulating Byzantium was always their goal, even when — as in the case of Metropolitan Hilarion (1051) — their immediate topic was the exaltation of local Kievan interests and ambitions. What is also significant is that admiration for Byzantine models continued for centuries. Russian pilgrims and travellers to Constantinople in later centuries, when the Empire was already impoverished, underpopulated and humiliated continued to express unreserved admiration. Stephen of Novgorod (ca 1350) admires the *wondrous size, height and beauty* of the big column, standing in front of St Sophia, and on top of it the *marvelous, lifelike* statue of Justinian the Great³. Ignatius, Bishop of Smolensk, describe with wonder the ceremonies and the *indescribable, unusual music* performed at the coronation of Emperor Manuel II (1392), of which he was a witness⁴. Zosima, a monk of St Sergius' Lavra, speaks of the *works of God seen in Constantinople*⁵, and all Russian pilgrims never tire in interminable descriptions of holy places, miraculous icons and relics seen and venerated in *Tsargrad*.

This powerful religious connection was, of course, strengthened by the fact that the metropolitans of Kiev and all Russia — the heads of a Church extending from the Carpathian Mountains to the Northern forests, and from the Baltic to the Lower Volga were appointed from Constantinople between 988 and 1448. More than often, they were Greeks themselves, bringing with them clergy, artists and diplomats. Even on the level of political structures, not only the independent Kievan Rus, but also the Russian principalities which, since 1238—40, fell under Mongol rule, considered themselves, in virtue of their Christianity, as parts of the Byzantine *oikoumene*. The dynastic blood-relationship established between the Byzantine imperial house and Prince Vladimir was occasionally renewed by other marital unions, but — more importantly — all the Russians whether they were actually related to the Byzantine emperors, or not, considered themselves as junior members of a princely family headed by the emperor. The sovereign of Constantinople addressed them as his nephews⁶, whereas Russian princes, when writing to him, used most deferential titles, in strict conformity with Byzantine court protocol⁷. They seem to have accepted without protest the solemn declaration of ecumenical patriarch Anthony IV in 1393 that the Byzantine emperor *is elected emperor and autocrat of the Romans, that is of all Christians*, and that consequently, Orthodox Christian Russians must continue the solemn liturgical commemoration of his name in the liturgy⁸.

Modern historians of Russia, whose general vision of Russian civilization is based primarily on economic, social, political and geographical considerations tend to underestimate Byzantine cultural influence in medieval Russia. The real importance of this influence can be ascertained only if one accepts a broader definition of what *culture* means, and if one also admits religion and, primarily, through the agency of the Church that Byzantine influence was a determining factor in Russian culture. As we celebrate the Millenium of Russian Christianity, one should remember that during almost half of this Millenium the Church in Russia was an ecclesiastical independence, or *autocephaly*, it continued to pattern its practices, its ethics and its ideological principles after the *Greek* tradition. As late as the 17th century, the liturgical reforms of patriarch Nikon were still pretending to restore ancient *Greek laws*. There was fallacy in these rather artificial and misleading attempts at catching-up with the past, but there

3. New critical edition and translation in Majeska, G. P., *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the 14th and 15th centuries*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XIX), Washington, D. C. 1984, p. 28.

4. Ibid., p. 106.

5. Ibid., p. 176.

6. Cf. for instance the *Chrysobull* (imperial decree with a golden seal) issued by Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus in August 1347 concerning the unity of the Russian metropolitanate, ed. Zachariae, K. E. v. Lingenthal. *Jus graecoromanum*, Leipzig, 1856—84, III, 701; also in Miklosich, F. and Müller, I., *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, Vienna, 1862, I, p. 268; tr. in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 281.

7. *Derzhaveneshiy i bogovenchanne i blagochestiya revnitelin... vysochaishy Tsariu i Samoderzhche...* (letter of Grand-prince Vasily Vasilevich to Emperor Constantine XI in 1451 in (Pavlov, A. S., ed.) *Pamiatniki drevne Russkago Kanonicheskago prava*, I, No. 71 (= *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, VI, St Petersburg, 1880.)

8. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta*, II, 188—92; the letter has been often quoted, cf. the translations of the relevant passages in Barker, J. W., *Manuel II Palaeologus*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J. 1969, p. 106—9.

is no doubt this liturgical and ritual conservatism, as well as the theory of *Moscow, the Third Rome* were by-products, and direct results of the Byzantine legacy in Russia.

Let us try to reflect further on the nature of this legacy and, first, on the Byzantine civilization itself.

Byzantinism and Russia in the Middle Ages

Constantinople, the *New Rome* built by emperor Constantine on the Bosphorus became the capital of an empire which today we generally call *Byzantine* although it was, in fact, the direct and legitimate continuation of the Roman Empire. It always called itself *Roman*. It also became the center of Christian expansion in Eastern Europe. In almost every way, its historical role parallels that of the *older Rome* in the western Latin world. The life and culture of Byzantium was marked by three distinct but essential components: the Roman political legacy, the Greek language and Orthodox Christianity. "Without all these the Byzantine way of life would have been inconceivable"⁹. Were these three components transmitted to the Russians? An attempt to answer the question reveals the particular nature of the Byzantine influence upon Russian medieval civilization, and allows for a better understanding of medieval Russia.

On the level of political ideology, the first impression given by the geographic realities, economic development and political structures, is a negative one: Russia was never a part of the Roman (or Byzantine) Empire and the system of princely appanages in Kievan Rus stands in vivid contrast with the imperial tradition. The contrast becomes even more vivid, if one remembers that the Southern Slavs, who also adopted the Byzantine Christian civilization, did attempt to transplant the imperial idea on their soil and assumed the title of *Roman* emperors. This is the case of the Bulgarian empires of Symeon and Samuel in the 10th—11th centuries, and of the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dusan in the 14th century. It is true that some later texts mention the assumption by Vladimir of the imperial title *basileus*, and a case has been made in favour of the possible historicity of that information¹⁰. However, if true, the title would have been purely honorific, and would only emphasize the political scheme, mentioned earlier: the Russian princes were conceived as junior members of a family, headed by the emperor. They were not his equals. Their relation to the imperial throne of Constantinople was in many ways similar to that of other *barbarian* rulers, particularly the heads of the various Germanic kingdoms and tribes of the West, in the 5th to 7th centuries, who were also receiving court titles from Byzantium and understood their states, as parts of the one universal Roman world. The realism of Byzantine foreign policy allowed for the existence of such a loose *Commonwealth* — a viable alternative to a real empire, — although unilateral assumption of the imperial title — by Charlemagne, by Symeon and Samuel of Bulgaria, by Stefan Dusan — were seen in Byzantium as intolerable usurpations.

Thus, in Russia, since the Baptism of Vladimir, the Roman political tradition, imported from Byzantium, was not a political system, directly determining the everyday life of society, but an ideology of Christian universalism, superimposed upon the local traditions of tribal or dynastic divisiveness. The divisiveness was in no way suppressed, but only placed under the judgement of a universalist criterion, which was actually more *Christian* than Roman. Indeed, the imperial conceptions of Constantine and Justinian were based upon an alliance between the universal Empire of Rome and the universal Christian Church, an imperial structure and an ecclesiastical hierarchy. In Russia, the ecclesiastical hierarchy alone was in control, and it is through the Church only that the Russians were initiated to the principles of universalism. This universalist criterion, resounded

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9. Ostrogorsky, G., *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed., Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J. 1969, p. 27.

10. Obolensky, D., *Byzance et la Russie de Kiev*, in: *Byzantium and the Slavs. Collected Studies*, Variorum, London, 1971, IV, p. 27—33.

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quite loudly in the hymnology of the Church. For instance, on Christmas Eve, the providential significance of the *pax romana*, as it was expounded in the 4th century by Eusebius of Caesarea, was solemnly proclaimed in the liturgy:

When Augustus reigned alone upon earth, the many kingdoms of man came to an end...

The cities of the world passed under one single rule; And the nations came to believe in one sovereign Godhead.

The peoples were enrolled by the decree of Caesar;

And we, the faithful, were enrolled in the Name of the Godhead¹¹.

Throughout the Kievan period, throughout the period of Mongol domination, and in the early stages of Moscovite supremacy, the power and prestige of the "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia" appointed from Byzantium and presiding over a Church, where the name of the emperor was commemorated — over and above the names of the local princes ruling over a politically divided land (the pagan grand-prince of Lithuania, the grand-prince of Halich, the grand-prince of Moscow, etc.) was a powerful reality. This power was moral, political and, also, economic. It reminded the Russians of the reality of a universal Church. It is reflected in many texts. Here is how the hagiographer Epiphanius the Wise, dates the death of St Stephen of Perm (late 14th century):

During the reign of the Orthodox Greek Emperor Manuel reigning in the Queen of cities, under Patriarch Anthony, Archbishop of Constantinople, under Patriarchs Dorotheos of Jerusalem, Mark of Alexandria, Neilos of Antioch, under the Orthodox Grand Prince Basil Dimitrievich of all Russia,... under Archbishop Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia..., under the other pious Christian princes (list of names, including Vitovt of Lithuania), in the sixteenth year of the rule of Tsar Tokhtamysh¹²...

The universalism implied in this vision is, of course, a Christian and Orthodox universalism, but it is also directly connected with and inherited from the Roman and Byzantine idea of an *inhabited earth*, headed by an emperor, and endowed with a sort of divinely established permanence, standing above the local, national principalities with only an ephemeral destiny.

But what did Russia inherit from the Greek component of Byzantine civilization? Indeed, one of the major characteristics of the missionary expansion of the Byzantine Church — exemplified by the model of St. Cyril and Methodius — was the translation of the Scriptures and the liturgy in the vernacular. Thus, Kievan Rus received Christianity with ready translations of sacred texts into Slavic, inherited from the 9th-century Moravian mission of the two brothers from Thessalonica. The contrast with the Latin West was greater. There Latin — a *classical* language — had become the language of prayer, the language of Christian thought and the vehicle of cultural progress. The Slavs — and particularly the Russians — did not have to study either Greek, or Latin. The obvious advantage was a more rapid *indigenization* of Christianity (the very goal of the "Cyrillo-Methodian" missionary approach). Also, the inevitable clericalization of society, which occurred in the Latin West, where, clerics obliged professionally to learn Latin, soon acquired a practical monopoly in the intellectual and legal fields, did not occur in the Slavic countries. But the availability of the Scriptures and other literature in translation had another major consequence, which would have lasting effect on Russian culture: since there was no compelling need to study a *classical* language, classical civilization was not assimilated in Russia, together with Christianity, as this was the case in the West. Indeed, a Latin medieval scholar, who knew Latin, would not read only Christian scriptures, but also Cicero, Augustine and, eventually, Aristotle. Instead a Russian *knizhnik* would only have at his disposal translations from the Greek, channelled through the Church, i. e. liturgical, hagiographic, canonical, and some historical materials.

11. In the Greek and Slavic liturgical Menaion this hymn is attributed to the Emperor Leo VI (886–912). Engl. Tr. in The Festal Menaion, by Mother Mary and Ware, K., Faber and Faber, London, 1969, p. 254.

12. Druzhinin, E.V., Moscow, 1897; repr. Cizevsky, D., *Zhitie sv Stefana Permskogo*, (Grafton, 1959, p. 85).

This situation was due not only to the Byzantine missionary policy of translating texts into Slavic, but also to the perennial tension, which existed within the Byzantine civilization itself, in relation to the Hellenic tradition. The Byzantines who were fully conscious of the fact that their language was *Hellenic* — the language of Plato and Demosthenes — were also reading the New Testament, where the term *Hellenic* meant *pagan*. The incompatibility between *Athens and Jerusalem* between Plato and the Gospel, was enshrined in Byzantine liturgical texts. Even the Virgin Mary was eulogized in the great and beautiful hymn *Akathistos*, as the one “who has torn asunder the tangled webs of the Athenians” τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα. The annual proclamation of the dogmas of the Church, on the first Sunday of Lent, known as the *Synodikon* of orthodoxy, included an anathema against those who give preference “to the mad and false wisdom of secular philosophers” τοῖς τὴν μωρὰν τὴν ἑξωθεν φιλοσόφων λεγομένην σοφίαν προτιμῶσι¹³.

Of course, the great Fathers of the Church had used Hellenic philosophical ideas very widely, and had proclaimed the usefulness of such ideas for expressing theological categories. But, the Church had ultimately rejected Platonism, as a system, particularly when, in the 6th century, it condemned Origenism. The Christian Hellenism of Byzantium was thus a transfigured Platonism which had abandoned some of the basic principles upon which Platonism was built: eternity of *intellectual* existence, materiality understood as fallenness, etc. Furthermore, influential and powerful forces, particularly within monasticism, always continued to warn against the dangers of any *secular* Hellenism.¹⁴

Under such conditions, it is understandable that very little of the secular knowledge, still available only to a narrow circle of Byzantine intellectuals, was translated into Slavic. The translations were mainly done by monks, and what the Russians received from the Greeks was not Hellenic civilization, but the Christian religion. Of course, this religion was enshrined in a hymnography reflecting the Christian Hellenism of the Fathers, but not Greek philosophy as such. Secular knowledge would come to Russia from the West — primarily during the Enlightenment — which is one of the important explanations of the dramatic discontinuities which characterize Russian history.

The third essential component of Byzantine civilization is the Orthodox Christian faith. By the time of Vladimir's Baptism, Byzantine Orthodoxy was a highly developed and sophisticated tradition. It had gone through complicated theological controversies, and produced a very elaborate theological literature, a splendid tradition of art and architecture. Its liturgy — which impressed so much the Russian ambassadors of 987 — involved not only a system of ceremonies and symbols, but also a rich poetic hymnography which was very difficult to translate into the newly born language of the Slavs.

As well known, Byzantine missionary expansion among Russians had begun before the time of St. Vladimir, starting in the 9th century. This early presence of Christianity is witnessed by Patriarch Photios and, later and more importantly, by the Baptism of the Princess St. Olga, in 954–955. It is obvious, however, that — even after Christianity became the official religion under St. Vladimir — ancestral paganism survived for centuries. This *dyoeverie* is a widespread reality, particularly in Kievan Rus. However, one has to recognize also the rapid appropriation by the Russians of some essential traits of Byzantine Orthodoxy: not the theological sophistication, of course, but certainly the overall perception of the Christian faith, as involving the dwelling of God among men — in the beauty of liturgical celebration and in the ethical ideals of monastic spirituality. This can be seen from the most cursory review of translations from Greek to Slavic in the early period of Russian Christianity¹⁵. Monuments of ecclesiastical architecture, as prominent as the cathedrals dedicated to St Sophia — the Wis-

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13. The text of the *Synodikon* can be found in all editions of the Greek liturgical *Triodion*; cf. the critical edition and commentary by Gouillard, J., *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, in: *Travaux et Mémoires*, Paris, 1967, p. 57.
14. On the issue of the relations between Christianity and Greek philosophy, the literature is immense and options differ. On my very broad view on the matter, see *Greek Philosophy and Christian Theology in the Early Church*, in Meyendorff, J., *Catholicity and the Church*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N. Y. 1983, p. 31–48.

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dom of God — in Kiev, Novgorod and Polotsk — appear within the first century of Russian Christianity. This is remarkable in itself, showing both the Byzantine legacy of the young Church and its creative appropriation of ideas and directions coming from Byzantium. The same can be said of pictorial art: faithful to Byzantine models, the Russians soon developed dynamic local creativity. The role of the Kievan Monastery of the Crypts (Pechersky Monastery) with its Rule, adopted from the *Constantinopolitan Stoudios*, the later development of monasticism in the Russian North, led by St. Sergius of Radonezh, the tremendous popularity of hagiographical writing (both in translation and original) and the definite preference, within the large body of partistic literature, for ascetical and spiritual writings, are all elements which allow us to understand medieval Russian Christianity in its relation to its mother — the Church in Byzantium. The issue of the transmission of Byzantine Christianity to Russia has rarely been discussed in depth by historians equally familiar with both civilizations and with the sources related to them. As a result, historians come up with sweeping judgements, emphasizing either contrasts, or similarities, which are only confusing sound historical judgement.

It has been said, for instance, that Russian Orthodoxy had a greater sense of the ethical dimensions of Christianity, that it has discovered the experience of a *Xenotic*, suffering Christ better than the more dogmatic *Hellenized* and *orientalized* perceptions, supposedly dominant in Byzantium¹⁵. Others, on the contrary, see in Russian medieval literature and ethos nothing but a pale imitation of Byzantine models and, in the later period, a prevailingly uncritical adoption of Western ideas¹⁷. Thought-provoking as they may be, such generalized approaches to the Russian Middle Ages, hardly invalidate the fact of the obvious continuity between Byzantium and Russia in understanding and confessing the same Orthodox Tradition. The liturgical texts used in Russia, were exact and literal translations from the Greek. Translated hagiographic texts served as models to Russian hagiographers. This is true for the earliest Russian canonized Saints, Boris and Gleb, sons of St Vladimir, murdered by their brother Svyatopolk, and venerated as symbols of Christian humility and nonviolence. The 11th century *Russian Skazanié* which relates their death, stands faithfully in the tradition of the early Christian *Acta Martyrum*¹⁸. The same can be said of the abundant ascetic and spiritual literature, and of the spirituality of Russian monastic saints. Reflecting local conditions, temperaments and political situation, they nevertheless always identify themselves with the age of the Fathers, i. e. the tradition received from the Christian East, through the mediation of the Church of Byzantium.

Particular attention is often paid — primarily by Western historians — to what is called Byzantine *caesaropapism*, and its legacy in Russia. The term refers to the role of Eastern Christian emperors, as manifesting the Kingship of Christ presiding over councils, interfering in the solution of both doctrinal and disciplinary issues and, in general, supervising and directing many aspects of the religious life of Byzantium. This role of the emperor was, indeed, considered as normal in Russia as well. We have seen earlier that, even in the late Byzantine period, the name of the reigning Byzantine sovereign was mentioned in Russian churches. Furthermore, texts indicate that he formally assumed an active role in Russian ecclesiastical affairs. In 1347, John Cantacuzenos issued a decision, unifying the metropolitanate of Kiev, (cf. above, note 6), and the patriarchal decrees appointing new metropolitans for Russia were normally given "with the consent and confirmation" of the emperor¹⁹. Indeed, the diplomatic role played by the metropolitan of Russia, on behalf of the Byzantine Empire in Eastern Europe — including the relationships (generally friendly) between Constantinople and the Mongol Empire, which ruled Russia after 1237 — made such imperial interventions inevitable²⁰. However, in Byzantium, the power of the em-

15. Cf. the recent and remarkably complete review of such materials (with secondary bibliography on the topic) in Podskalsky, G., *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus (988—1237)*, Beck, C. H., München, 1982, p. 56—82.

16. This is a dominant idea in otherwise brilliant essays by the late Fedotov, G. P., *The Russian Religious Mind*, I—II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1946—66.

17. This is the overall impression one gets from a cursory reading of Florovsky G.'s *Puti Russkago Bogosloviya*, Paris, 1937; repr. Paris, 1981.

18. For a recent study of the cult of SS Boris and Gleb, see Poppe, A., *La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb*. Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, XXIV, I, Poitiers, 1981, p. 29—53.

peror in ecclesiastical affairs was never conceived as unconditional. An emperor, unfaithful to Orthodoxy was viewed as an usurper or as *tyrant* (τύραννος). It is in this sense that the term "caesaropapism", suggesting absolute doctrinal and disciplinary authority of "Caesar", similar to that of the Roman popes, is hardly applicable to the Byzantine theory of Kingship. From the Byzantine, the Russians learned not only about the sacredness of the emperor — in his role of leader of the Christian *oikoumené*—, but also about the many Orthodox victims of imperially-sponsored heresies: St John Chrysostom, St Maximus the Confessor, St Theodore of Stoudios. The numerous confessors of the faith who were victimized by the iconoclastic emperors, were particularly remembered in liturgical hymns and hagiography. Their confession was publicly and repeatedly praised in texts, which Russian clergy and laity knew by heart, and which cursed the memory of heretical emperors²¹.

In Russia, the general medieval concept of sacred Kingship was applied to Russian princes²², who, as we mentioned earlier, were seen as junior members of the imperial "family". But among them, there also were *tyrants*, including the best known among them — Svyatopolk, murderer of Boris and Gleb.

In practice, from the time of St Vladimir's baptism and until the assumption of ecclesiastical independence by the metropolitanate of Moscow (1448), the metropolitan of All-Russia, in virtue of his appointment from Constantine, enjoyed great independence from local politics and local rulers. This independence was also lending his actions and decisions a decisive political significance. The policies of such metropolitans as Cyril (1242—81), Peter (1308—26), Theognostos (1328—1352), Alexis (1354—78), and Cyprian (1375—1406), was decisive in many facets of the relationship between the South-Western and North-Eastern principalities of Rus, and in the final move of the metropolitanate from Kiev to Moscow. After 1448, however, the election of Moscovite metropolitans by the local episcopal synod placed them under the direct control of the grand-princes of Moscow, and later of the Tsar. This new situation was not the result of *Byzantine* influence, but a new political and cultural situation, characteristic specifically of Moscow and of the fast-growing empire of Russia.

The Byzantine Legacy in Modern Russia

The emergence of the Russian Tsardom in the 15th and the 16th century coincided chronologically with the end of the Middle Ages. And since the basic principles, the cultural harmony, the overall perception of reality, which characterized Byzantium, were essentially mediaval phenomena, there was no way, in which they could have continued, without fundamental changes, in Moscovite Russia following the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The often referred theory of *Moscow, the Third Rome* did indeed emerge in the 15th century. Its literary or ideological manifestations were interesting witnesses of the mentality of the times, but they remained quite limited in their practical influence. A famous text, known as the *Legend of the White Cowl* — a variation of the Western Donation of Constantine — according to which a papal white cowl, donated to Pope Sylvester by Emperor Constantine and, eventually, ending up in Novgorod (passing through Byzantium), was an ideological attempt to justify the superiority of the priesthood over political power. It characterized the Latin-oriented interests, which dominated the court of Gennadius, archbishop of Novgorod (1484—1504). The ideas contained in the well-known letters of the monk Filofei of Pskov to Grand Prince Vasili III were never formally endorsed by the latter, but they did contain the idea of a *translatio imperii* to Moscow, the *Third Rome*. Their interpretation of the succession of kingdoms, described in the book of Daniel, was, in fact, too apocalyptic to be accepted as practical political guidelines. Even the marriage of Ivan III with Zoe, the niece

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19. Cf. the appointment of metropolitans Alexis in 1354 (εὐδοκία καὶ ἐπικρίσει τοῦ κρατίστον καὶ ἁγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος Miklosich—Müller, Acta. I.338, 350) and Pimen in 1380 (εὐδοκία καὶ ἐπικρίσει ibid., II, 17).

20. Cf. my discussion of this and several connected issues in *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the 14th Century*. Cambridge, 1981, p. 73—95.

21. Cf. for instance, the frequently repeated troparion in honor of victims of iconoclasm, who are glorified, because they destroyed *Kopronymos* (= Emperor Constantine V, 741—775) by the sword of faith.

22. Cf. Poppe, A., *Le prince et l'Eglise en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du X^e siècle jusqu'au début du XII^e siècle*, in *Acta Polonae Historica*, 20, 1963, p. 95—119; cf. also, by the same author, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI wieku*. Warszawa, 1968.

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of the last Byzantine emperor of the Palaeologan dynasty, did not entail formal claim to imperial succession, but rather, to quote Karamzine "did torn apart the curtain separating Russia from Europe". It "brought about a rapprochement between Moscovy and contemporary Italy"²³, where the princess had received her upbringing, and was a contemporary of the rebuilding of the Moscow Kremlin by Italian architects.

It is impossible to discuss here further and in full the late of the Byzantine legacy in modern Russia. For the sake of discussion, however, it might be useful to remember the three categories, which, as mentioned earlier, are major constituents of Byzantine civilization: the Roman political tradition, the Greek language (i. e. the tradition of classical antiquity) and the Orthodox Christian faith. What happened to those categories in post-medieval Russia?

Although Ivan III had already begun to use the title of tsar — the Slavic equivalent of *Caesar*, or emperor —, it is only his grand-son, Ivan IV, who was formally anointed and proclaimed *God-crowned Tsar* in 1547 according to a modified Byzantine ceremonial. However very characteristically, the theory of *translatio imperii* from Constantinople to Moscow seldom appears in contemporary Russian sources. Long after the coronation, Metropolitan Zosima (1490—1494) describes Ivan as "the new emperor Constantine of the new city of Constantine — Moscow", but only after a letter of the patriarch of Constantinople himself, sent in 1561, confirms the assumption of the title by Ivan and notes that he is a relative of Byzantine emperor Basil II, through the latter's sister Ann, wife of Vladimir²⁵. Otherwise, "the political implications of the doctrine of Moscow — the Third Rome, do not seem to have been taken very seriously by the tsars of that time"²⁶. Indeed, one of the essential characteristics of the authentic *imperial* title was its universality. This was the main implication of the *Roman* political tradition, preserved in Byzantium. In obvious contrast, the Moscovite Tsar assumed the title of *Tsar of all Russia*. His monarchy was over a nation-state. A reader of Machiavelli, Ivan IV used the theocratic argument, to solidify his power, and among such arguments was the Byzantine imperial idea. But this imperial ideology was covering a social and cultural reality quite different from Byzantium: that of a nationally-inspired policies similar to those prevailing in Post-Renaissance Europe.

What about the legacy of antiquity? As was shown earlier, neither the Greek language, nor the philosophy of the ancient Greeks was exported by the Byzantine Church to Russia. As a result, among the major European nations, the Russians left the Middle Ages and entered the modern age without passing through the two stages, crucial to the history of Western Europe: the Renaissance and the Reformation. In this fact, many historians of Russia might see an advantage; others might bemoan it. Be it as it may, it is a fact that — even in the seventeenth century —, Russian Church and society were unable to cope by themselves with the problem of a new translation of liturgical texts, hence the tragedy of the Old Believer's Schism. Knowledge of Greek and Latin was brought to Moscovy by a few Ukrainian graduates of the Kievan Academy, and, later, after Peter the Great, by a drastic introduction of a school system, directly borrowed from Western Europe.

There remains, finally, the last of the components of Byzantism: the Christian faith and the Orthodox Church. As we have seen earlier, its development in Russia, begun, with St Vladimir's baptism, was originally fairly organic. The Byzantine legacy was rapidly assumed and brought fruit in the fields of spirituality, art, architecture and literature. But this organic development entered a period of tensions in the 15th and 16th centuries with the establishment of the imperial nation-state in Moscovy and with the massive importation of Western secularized civilization in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Within the Moscovite nation-state, the Church became a National Church. Its

23. Florovsky, G., *Puti Russkago bogosloviya*, repr. Paris, 1981, p. 21.

24. Dyakonov, G. M., *Vlast' Moskovskikh Gosudarei*, St Petersburg, 1889, p. 64—66.

25. Obolesky, M. A., *Sobornaya gramota dukhovenstva vostochnoy tserkvi utverzhdayushchaya san tsarya*, Moscow, 1850; critical ed. by Regel, W., *Analecta Byzantino-russica*, St Petersburg, 1891—8, p. 75—79; repr. by Takhiaos, A., Πηγὴς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ιστορίας τῶν ὀρθόδοξων σλάβων. I. Thessaloniki, 1984, p. 161—1.

26. Obolensky, D., *Russia's Byzantine Heritage* in: *The Structure of Russian History*, Cherniavsky, M., ed., Random House, New York, 1970, p. 11.

heads, the metropolitans (later patriarchs) of Moscow were now elected locally and became closely dependent upon the tsar. Gone were the days when the head of the Russian Church appointed by the distant patriarch of Constantinople, could freely arbitrate local political conflicts. And the tsar himself was not anymore a medieval sovereign, personally committed to the faith and de facto answerable to Church tradition and discipline, as the Byzantine emperors still were. State interests — or personal whims — were now his highest priority. Here is one case of glaring contrast: as Byzantine emperor, Leo VI, married a fourth time in 905, had to face both the opposition of the Church in the person of the patriarch, and an uproar of public opinion, leading to schism. He eliminated (rather gently) the reluctant prelate, but the conflict ended with a condemnation of his illegitimate union. In Moscovy, meanwhile, Ivan IV married seven times, without noticeable opposition²⁷. Furthermore, the tsar — like many Renaissance princes of the contemporary West — was in a position to use deliberate force to forestall the criticism of at least one metropolitan, St Philip (1568). In general, however, the Church in Moskovy was submitted to the State in a much tighter way than this was the case in Byzantium. The attempt made by Patriarch Nikon (1652—1658) to assert ecclesiastical control over the State — following basically the Western model — soon ended in failure, and was followed by the reforms of Peter I the Great, which transformed the Church into a department of State, according to the pattern prevailing in Lutheran countries of the 18th century.

Thus, in Russia, the Orthodox Church faced successive assault of active, State sponsored secularization. It always kept the memory of the Byzantine or Greek sources of its Christian tradition, and was keen in maintaining contacts with the Turkish-dominated ancient centers of Orthodoxy, particularly Constantinople. But, in practice, since the 15th century, it had become a national Church with little help, or support from abroad to settle its problems.

Many contemporary Western historians of Russia tend to discount the role of the Church in Russian history altogether, or interpret it only negatively. Their judgement is based, primarily, on the Western historical experience, according to which the Church should exercise its influence on society through its institutions, which are legally defined, legally independent and, therefore, able to compete with and control secular powers. One must recognize that, judged by that criterion the Russian Church of the modern period did rather poorly for historical reasons mentioned above.

However, one of the most peculiar — but quite important — legacies of Eastern Christianity, which Byzantium passed on the Russians, was the paradox of a simultaneous existence in the Church of both sacramental and spiritual leadership and experience. The liturgy, the sacraments and, also, the spiritual tradition of monasticism, rather than political influence were seen, as the authentic content of the Christian faith²⁸. The reality which they offered was somewhat independent from the official stand of patriarchs, or metropolitans often dependent upon the State. Actually, the Greeks themselves were experiencing a similar situation within an Ottoman Empire which kept deposing patriarchs, so that the actual authority of the patriarchate had become negligible.

In Russia, already in the 15th and 16th century, the monastic party of the so-called Non-Possessors, disciples of St Nil Sorsky, had lost a battle for influence at the court of the grand-prince and with the higher echelons of the Church. Nevertheless, it is their monastic spirituality, rooted in Byzantine contemplative hesychasm and tradition of the *Jesus prayer*, which survived, as the most authentic and influential spiritual reality within the Russian Church. In the 19th century, personalities like St Seraphim of Savov and the *Startsy* (elders) of Optino will be the most respected voices of Orthodox Christianity amidst an increasingly secularized society.

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27. It is worth noting, however, that Ivan was considered as being excommunicated by the Church. According to the Jesuit Possevino "the Prince has a personal confessor who goes everywhere with him when he leaves Moscow. The Prince confesses his sins to him every year, but he can no longer receive the Eucharist because, in accordance with their laws, it is forbidden to anyone who has had more than three wives to have communion with the Body of Christ our Lord", The Moskovia, tr. by Graham, M. F. UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, I, 1977, p.48.

28. On this topic see my article *St Basil, The Church and Chrismatic Leadership* in Meyendorff, J., *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N. Y. 1982, p. 197—215.

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Furthermore, the impact of Western ideas and methods, which began to penetrate Russia since the 16th century — the Latin theological patterns taught at Kiev, the drastically westernized educational policies introduced during the Petrine reforms — were actually integrated, within the official Church, into a truly updated and highly advanced system of Theological education. Furthermore, the missionary expansion, including the use of the old Cyrillo-Methodian method of translating scripture and liturgy into dozens of new languages, was continuing both within and beyond the borders of the Russian Empire. The subsistence even today of entirely indigenized missions in Japan and Alaska are witnessing to this.

Finally, one cannot do justice to the overall results of the Baptism of St Vladimir without considering the impact of Christianity upon society as such. As an institution, the Church has been socially marginalized by the reforms of Peter with the clergy becoming a cast, somewhat separate from the nobility and intelligentsia (but remaining close to the people at large). But its influence remained. What is extraordinary and truly remarkable is that, in the nineteenth century, Russia produced a literature, which of considered as a whole, is undoubtedly the most *Christian* among European literatures of the period. Indeed, can't one say that the novels of Dostoyevski are raising theological problems, better than many theological manuals? That Pushkin, Gogol and Chekhov — whatever their personal spiritual odyssey — expressed better than many manuals of ethics that which is authentic and true in human behavior, and, particularly, human religiosity, and that which is hollow and false? And the great Leo Tolstoy — theologically and philosophically perhaps more naive than the others — remained something of a living conscience of Western civilization.

That literature also has its ultimate roots in the conversion of Russia to Christianity in 987—988. Even today, its popularity and its influence, both in Russia and abroad, shows that the seeds planted a millenium ago can bear much fruit in most unexpected ways and unexpected places. It can be said, therefore, that the event, whose millenium we commemorate, is not an important historical watershed in the history of medieval Eastern Europe: it is an important factor in the life of human society as a whole.

17. It is worth noting, however, that Ivan was considered as being excommunicated by the Church. According to the Jesuit Posselt, "the Prince has a personal confessor who goes to everywhere with him when he leaves Moscow. The Prince confides his sins to him every year, but he can no longer receive the Eucharist because, in accordance with the law, it is forbidden to anyone who has had more than three wives to have communion with the Body of Christ on Earth." The Jesuit, in his *Christianity in Russia* (London, 1911), p. 117. Russia and East European Studies, I, 1971, p. 117.

18. On this topic see my article "St. Basil, the Church and Christianity: Looking at Moscow from the Western View," in the *Orthodox Review*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y., 1982, p. 101.

DAISAKU IKEDA

The Light of Byzantine Civilization Brightening the Centuries

Many Japanese today have begun to realize the necessity of understanding the various countries of the world correctly. As a people, we used to be interested only in a few countries, such as Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany. These are the cultures with which we have most heavily supplemented our own since the latter half of the 19th century. But we must broaden our outlook to other countries, and we must pay more attention to the origins of these Western European countries to whom we owe so much.

Now we have begun to realize that these countries did not come to be what they are today without a substantial inheritance. They stand firm on the cultural legacy of still other great civilizations. In this essay I wish to focus on one in particular, the Byzantine Empire and its attendant civilization, and its effects on western Europe.

To understand this relationship is to understand more about ourselves and our role in international relations and about Central and Eastern Europe as well. These are regions still warmed by the pulse of the Byzantine culture. Thus looking back, we will be better informed about the world of today.

The Byzantine civilization, with its nearly thousand-year history, acted as a conduit between the ancient Roman civilization and the early medieval and Renaissance years. As the *new Rome* of the old Roman Empire, which fell around 476, Constantinople was a sanctuary for the remnants of Roman culture in the days when that empire breathed its last. Together with Greek and Asian learning, this made for a heady cultural mix which characterized Byzantine civilization, and which that civilization's activities spread to western Europe. And, in its capacity as the great fortress of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, whose massive walls were not finally broken until 1453, also did its part in holding back Muslim advances upon Europe through the power of its superior naval forces. Even as it crumbled, the Byzantine Empire continued to exert its influence, its conquerors and its refugees both carrying their booty of art and ideas to new homes in western Europe. In these ways, the Byzantine civilization affected and protected the growing populations of western Europe.

A closer examination of the history and civilization of the Byzantine Empire reveals that the virtual extinction of the Western Roman Empire by 476 is, in fact, the end of what had already collapsed by that time. The decline of Rome can be seen figuratively as the destruction of a cicada's cast-off shell; however, the cicada itself continues to live after shedding its useless shell, and in just such a way did the Byzantine Empire emerge as a new and successful power.

One of its first major victories took place when Western Europe was still much divided and the empire served as a bulwark against Muslim invasion. Muslim troops swept, like a gale, across the Mediterranean world, conquering the northern coasts of Africa, crossing Gibraltar, overrunning the Iberian Peninsula, and invading present-day France. However, Charles Martel, de facto ruler of the Frankish kingdoms, won a narrow victory over the invaders at Tours in 732. Although the view of world history centred on Europe tends to emphasize the significance of this victory to the exclusion of any other, the Muslim invasion

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in this part of the Mediterranean world was merely a single one of many Muslim campaigns. The bulk of the Muslim troops advanced on the coastal regions between Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. It was the powerful Byzantine navy that prevented the encroachment of the Muslim fleet. In 673, a Muslim general representing Mu'āwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph, established his headquarters at Cyzicus, threateningly close to Constantinople, and conducted a series of campaigns against the capital city for five years. The Byzantine navy counterattacked with their *Greek fire*, weapons from which liquids containing sulphur, salpeter and volatile oil were thrown, flaming, at the enemy fleet. Finally, the Muslim fleet was defeated.

If the Byzantine navy had failed in preventing the advance of the Muslim forces, they would surely have swept Europe. However, it was the Germanic tribes who overpowered the continent at that time, and because they had no higher religion, they fell under the influence of the last vestiges of the Roman civilization, and were converted to Christianity. Had the Muslims won the Battle of Tours and infiltrated all of Europe, they would have imposed very different religious values from those that existed there, and Europe would be a very different place today. After the Germanic tribes had settled in western Europe, and the Muslim invasion ended, Charlemagne's kingdom began its reign in 771. A short period of peace ensued in which a spiritual and literary movement called the *Carolingian Renaissance* flourished briefly, following the pattern of cultural ferment nourished previously in Rome and concurrently in Constantinople.

Because of the prestige of the Emperor Charlemagne, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI, in an effort to offset his mother's interference in politics as regent, attempted unsuccessfully to marry a daughter of Charlemagne.

Philip Sherrard wrote about the influence of the Byzantine civilization upon western Europe and the forms in which this influence was manifested: "Though indebtedness to Byzantium (Constantinople) may be obvious in Eastern Europe, it is more subtle and more grudgingly recognized in the countries of the West. The revival of Greek ideas during the Renaissance would have been largely impossible had not Byzantine scholars studied and preserved the ancient literature. Certain cathedrals from the reign of Charlemagne, like the one still standing at Aachen in Germany, use Byzantine decorative motifs, floor plans and construction techniques; but these are generally counted as features of Carolingian art. And it is a forgotten bit of cultural history that the fork — that most characteristic implement of Western table service — was first introduced to Venetian society by a Byzantine princess" (*Great Ages of Man*, 1966, Time Inc.). As Sherrard points out, it is clear that Constantinople directly influenced Western Europe, even before the Crusades took place. The Crusades simply accelerated that which was already in motion.

In May 1097, the French priest, Foucher de Chartres, in the company of Baldwin II, who was to become the second king of Jerusalem, visited Constantinople for the first time and wrote joyfully: "Oh, what a noble and beautiful city Constantinople is! How many monasteries and palaces it has — all of them built with wonderful techniques! Eye-opening articles fill not only boulevards but alleys as well. Gold and silver work, clothes made of various kinds of materials, holy relics and so forth — how can you count all those many kinds of rich articles? Merchants, in their frequent travels, bring all goods man may want to this capital without any cessation" (translated from *Histoire de Jerusalem*).

The Constantinople Foucher observed had already past its zenith of prosperity. Yet it was still the highest civilization in the West at that time. Here Foucher gazed upon the enormous imperial palace and a huge stadium for chariot racing, which could accommodate sixty thousand spectators, as well as the Church of the Holy Wisdom, Hagia Sophia, whose foundation covers ten thousand square metres and whose dome soars upwards to fifty-four metres. The church

was built in 537, gilded in gold and silver and covered with colorful mosaics. More than five hundred years had past since its construction when Foucher saw the church on his visit to the city.

Foucher's profound sense of awe came from more than the realization that Hagia Sophia was half a millenium old. For architecture of the grandeur and splendour such as in Constantinople had yet to appear in Western Europe. It is said that in the 11th century, most of the buildings in Paris were wooden. The construction of Notre- Dame de Paris was not started until 1182. Not until 1194, nearly a hundred years after Foucher's day, was the Romanesque cathedral built at Chartres. And another sixty-six years would pass before the Gothic spires which we see today were completed in 1260.

To the peoples who lived in what are now France, Germany, Great Britain and other countries of Western Europe, Constantinople was the embodiment of a staggeringly advanced civilization. It is not difficult to imagine how they marvelled at the well-organized bureaucratic systems and the great imperial power of the Byzantine Empire. Western Europe as a political entity was still no more than a loose gathering of feudal lords, European kings no more than their leaders. The Crusades served as the impetus for the consolidation of sovereign right in this region, leading to the establishment first, of the modern monarchical state, and eventually to absolute monarchy.

The frequent Crusades impoverished the feudal nobility both financially and in terms of human resources, thus setting the stage for the rise of sovereign right. A yet more fundamental cause can be traced to the princes and vassals from various parts of Western Europe who participated in the Crusades and so came into contact with the advanced civilization and highly-developed government structure of the Byzantine Empire. They were witnesses to the immense power vested in the Byzantine emperor, who ruled as the agent of God, and must have concluded that here was a fitting state after which to model their own.

In the early 6th century, the Byzantine Empire promulgated an elaborate system of laws which had been codified by Emperor Justinian. The old Roman Empire had been a pioneer in this field, having existed for centuries as a law-governed body. This tradition was carried on in the Byzantine Empire. Justinian established a commission to codify the laws remaining from Roman times. Their effort bore fruit in a systemised code comprising 4652 items of law.

Some of the provisions of the code were retrogressive. For instance, adultery was a cause for severe penalties and pagans were discriminated against. Yet mostly the code was progressive, allowing people to liberate their slaves and conduct land-sale transactions with greater ease than ever before. Widows were granted the right of inheritance. The provisions are quite articulate, and a consistency permeates the whole. Most systems of law formulated later in countries throughout Europe are said to be patterned after the code of Justinian.

The Crusades, which in later years gave Western Europe fresh direction with their infusion of stimulating new ideas from Eastern Europe, at the same time played a role in the decline of the Byzantine Empire.

The Fourth Crusade, which took place from 1202—1204, an expedition used to great advantage by the Venetians, was especially demaging to the Byzantine Empire. The Venetian Republic, in search of gold, had long been waiting for an opportunity to wrest some of the lucrative Mediterranean trade from the Byzantine Empire. The Venetians saw their chance and used the Fourth Crusade to further their own interests. The Crusaders had originally planned to wrest control of the Holy City of Jerusalem from the Muslim powers. Instead, they directed their military attentions to Constantinople, even though its inhabitants practised the same faith as the Crusaders. Finally, they took the city and gave themselves over to plunder and violence.

The treasure they took included works at art and worship. The bronze horses

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which adorn the façade of the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice were part of this booty.

The princes of Western Europe took the riches of Constantinople to their native lands when they returned, and had churches and monasteries built to enshrine and protect them. Hence the empire's art acted as a catalyst for the launching of numerous artistic endeavors.

The noblemen of Western Europe who had participated in the Fourth Crusade divided the domains of the Byzantine empire among themselves, becoming lords of their respective fiefs. Baldwin I, the count of Flanders, was elected the new emperor. The Aegean Islands, and with them the command of the sea, passed into the hands of the Venetians.

The empire, deprived of much of its land, and no longer master of the sea, was unable to muster sufficient might to repel the Ottomans when, in 1453, they attacked Constantinople both by land and by sea.

As a result of this last fatal blow to the empire, many men of arts and letters fled to the sanctuary of Western Christendom. An especially great number of them took refuge in cities in Italy with which they had maintained close contact. Their contributions here enhanced the flowering of the Italian Renaissance. Though the Empire in its early stages had fostered a continuation of Roman culture, Greek scholarship had come to be a powerful force in Byzantine affairs. It was the Byzantine scholars of Greek classics who kindled the ardour of Western Europeans to study Greek philosophy and Greek literature. This renewed interest in classical Greek led to the formulation of Humanism and Scholasticism, schools of philosophy indebted to Greek classics which were key elements of the intellectual ferment during the Italian Renaissance.

In 1515, Pope Leo X founded a school for the study of Greek in Rome. In 1519, lessons in Greek began at the great British universities in Cambridge and Oxford, and in Belgium. In 1530, the French king Francis I asked John Lascaris, a Greek exile from Constantinople, to establish the Mouseion, which would later become the Collège de France, as a successor to the Byzantine schools. In 1542, Francis I established a library of Greek manuscripts at Fontainebleau. Now that the Ottoman Empire ruled most of what had been the domain of the Byzantines, trade across the Mediterranean was at least partially closed to the western European countries, who were not friendly with the Ottoman Turks. In turn, the western powers sought out more lucrative trade routes out over the open reaches of the still unexplored Atlantic Ocean, and even beyond to the broad seas ringing the globe. As a consequence, they found their way to the treasures and spices of the Orient, their thirst for new resources inaugurating the age of great voyages of discovery.

Thus, the fall of Constantinople and the changes it brought on the Mediterranean Sea traffic led, albeit indirectly, to the arrival in Japan of Western ships, the first harbingers of cultures to which we would become so strongly attached. In this brief review we have come full circle, and realized the profound interrelation of our mutual histories. In the future we must study more deeply in order to comprehend the true nature of the ties which bind us.

PAULOS MAR GREGORIOS

The Foundation of the Russian People and the Conversion of Russia to Christianity

The 9th and the 10th century laid the cultural foundations for the three branches of the Russian people — the Ukrainians, the Great Russians and the Bylo-Russians. The conversion of Russia to Christianity in 988 A.D. was the culmination of a process of national formation, the antecedents of which process in the 9th and 10th centuries are certainly worth surveying.

Pre-Christian Slavs were, no doubt, like other Europeans, pagans. Common elements of that pre-Christian paganism can still be traced among the Slavic peoples — for example the great closeness to nature, particularly to birds and animals still visible in Slavic folklore and children's books. It is also worth noting that this folklore often features sun and moon, wind and forest. In our present environmental crisis, this closeness to nature can be a very positive feature in the contemporary Slavic psyche.

As the foundations of Kievan Russia were being laid, several cultural factors made their impact on the Russian peoples. They were close enough to the European peoples — particularly the Finns and other Scandinavian peoples. But these European neighbours of Russia had not yet come fully into the light of civilization and remained somewhat savage and primitive. There was little that Russia could absorb culturally from the Europeans of the 9th and 10th centuries. If they absorbed anything it was mostly Finnish blood — especially the Great Russians of the North.

On the contrary, the Slavic peoples, who were in touch with the great Asian civilizations of the Fertile Crescent, were culturally ahead of the other Europeans. They were in touch both with the advanced civilization of Byzantium and with the flourishing culture of Islamic Caliphates of the Middle East.

Among their closest neighbours was Khazaria, which rose to power in the 7th century. By the 9th century the Khazarian empire had expanded to include the whole area north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus, between the Carpathian mountains on the west and the Caspian coast on the East. They were strong enough to fight back the Islamic or Arabic onslaughts from the East, and to defend Europe from Asian conquering armies.

The Khazars were obviously allied with the Byzantines in their opposition to Islam, and Byzantine emperors Justinian II (704) and Constantine V had married Khazar princesses. Strangely enough, the Khazars did not embrace Christianity, either Byzantine or Latin, but preferred to adopt the Jewish religion, keeping their identity distinct from the Byzantine Greeks and the Latin West, which were both Christian.

Among the Slavic peoples, the Volga Bulgars and several South Slavic tribes came for a time under the overlordship of the Khazar empire with its Capital city in Itil on the west coast of the Caspian Sea. Khazaria, with a ruling elite that was Jewish, was, however, very cosmopolitan. Pagans, Muslims, Christians and Jews mingled and flourished together, though Muslims were at a disadvantage.

The campaign of Kievan Prince Svyatoslav, himself a pagan, against Khazaria in 965 A.D., just preceded the conversion of Russia by 23 years. The Khazars

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were beaten, but from the vanquished the victors picked up many elements, especially military and political institutions.

Svyatoslav, the father of Prince Vladimir, was a Varangian, or a Scandinavian, whose people had settled around Novgorod and Smolensk. Though Svyatoslav's mother Olga (+969 A.D.) was a Christian and a Russian Orthodox saint, the son was a pagan. But as the Khazar civilization and its Jewish elements were assimilated into the new Kievan Rus State, the rough might of the Nordic tribes, became a kind of refined strength.

There were, however, other elements that went to make up the culture and the national psyche of Kievan Russia. Chief among those were the Byzantine influence, the Christianity of the Southern Slavs and the Arab civilization.

Byzantine Influence

The conversion of Russia to Christianity brought more than christianity with it to the people. Byzantine civilization in all its aspects was powerfully influential in the shaping of the psyche of Kievan Russia.

Though the glorious age of Justinian was a thing of the past in Byzantium after the Arab conquest, the Comnenian or Macedonian dynasties that ruled Byzantium from the 9th to the 12th centuries were also promoters of culture and the arts. It was Byzantium in which tension ruled between the secular and the ecclesiastical, between the rational and the mystical, between Aristotle and Plato, and also between the State and the Church.

It was also a Byzantium that was in tension with the Latin West that influenced the formation of Kievan Russia. Medieval Latins knew no Greek and the Greeks knew no Latin. That did not prevent them from quarrelling with each other and engaging in the most acrimonious theological disputes. The filioque controversy had burst out in Jerusalem in 807. Pope Leo III (795—816) had enraged the Greeks by his letter to "all the Churches of the East", telling them that "the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son"¹.

Charlemagne (c. 742—814) asked his theologian, Theodulf (c. 750—821) to write his *de Spirito Sancto* to answer the Greeks who refused to accept the *filioque*. The Council of Aachen confirmed the teaching of Theodulf on the *filioque*. The result was the Photian schism between East and West in Europe.

Photius was Patriarch of Constantinople from 858—886. It was during his Patriarchate that the Bulgarian and Serbian Slavs were converted. He was the one who objected to the presence of Latin missionaries in Bulgaria trying to deflect the newly-converted Slavs to Roman obedience. In the same year 867 when he wrote his encyclical, he anathematised the Pope at the Council of Constantinople. In 869, the Latins excommunicated Photius at a Council in Rome.

The Bulgarian Slavs remained in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople rather than that of the Pope of Rome. This factor had a great deal to do with Vladimir's choice of Byzantine Christianity rather than Roman. Vladimir's baptism, at least in the period immediately after, made the Kievan Church an ecclesiastical province of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The South Slavic influence

Though thus Constantinople and Byzantine civilization became the fount for Russian religious culture, the main documents of Christianity came to Russia from Bulgaria rather than from Byzantium.

St Cyril (826—869) and his brother St Methodius (815—885) had both died more than a hundred years before the conversion of Russia in 988. But they had already developed the Glagolitic alphabet as a medium of expression of Slavic identity, and translated the Scriptures and liturgical texts, as well as sev-

1. See Haugh, R., *Photius and the Carolingians*, Nordland, Belmont, Mass, 1975, p. 68.

eral theological works from Greek into Old Slavonic. Just as Martin Luther provided a foundation for the Germanic language and culture, the work of Cyril and Methodius laid the foundation of Slavonic culture, which developed first in the Balkans and then in Kievan Russia, a century later.

The Kievan Christians did not have to learn Greek and translate the Scriptures, liturgical texts and patristic writings into their language. The work had already been done by Cyril and Methodius and by other scholars whom they had taught. Kievan Russia took this whole literature from the South Slavs, and thus the Bulgarian literary centres of Ohrid, Pliska and Preslav made an enormous contribution to the development of the Russian mind and culture. The disciples of Cyril and Methodius, under the leadership of Bulgarian Tsars Boris, Simeon and Peter, led by the great Bulgarian teacher Kliment Slovenski (who ran a school for 3500 students in the tradition in of the ancient Museum Alexandria), produced also a great number of original works in Old Slavonic. It was the Golden Age of Old Bulgarian literature, and the wealth was inherited by the newly Christianized Kievan Russia. Constantine of Preslav wrote several devotional and exegetical treatments in addition to translating the four books *Against Arians* by St. Athanasius the Great. Joan Exarch, another prolific writer in Tsar Simeon's literary circle, had translated the *De Fide Orthodoxa* of John of Damascus, the great Byzantine scholastic theologian.

Thus the Russian Orthodox Church was able to worship the Russian language from the very outset, and quickly to come into the immense heritage of Christian writings without having to translate them. And the contribution made by the Bulgarian-Serbian Slavs to the Russian culture seems just as important as the Byzantine contribution, which has been well written about and widely acknowledged.

The Arab Civilization

The relation between the Russian people and the flourishing Arab civilization of the 9th century was at best dialectical. Egypt and Syria, the richest and most populous provinces of the Roman as well as of the Byzantine empires, had now become the two bases of a vibrant Islamic civilization, but with many ups and downs in the power of the Caliphates. The Umayyad Caliphate, established around 660, with Damascus as capital, soon became a rival to the splendor of Byzantine civilization. It was an Islamic civilization, though run largely by Christian administrators, thinkers and craftsmen. But their power waned by the middle of eighth century, and the Abbasid Caliphate with Baghdad as capital became the centre of Islamic culture. The so-called Nestorian and Monophysite Christians, who had rejected Byzantine domination in the sixth and seventh centuries regarded the Muslim Arabs as their friends.

Just two decades before the Baptism of Prince Vladimir in 988, Nicephoras Phocas, the soldier-emperor, had dealt a crushing blow to the Arabs, re-conquered Cilicia and Cyprus, and campaigned against Syria and captured it.

As the Crusades began in the eleventh century, the Normans (including Varangians) who provided the Spearhead of the Frankish army, were not total strangers to the Islamic empire. Their forefathers, including the Kievan Varangians, had made frequent pilgrimages to the Christian holy places in Palestine controlled by Muslims. In fact for Scandinavians and Varangians in particular, such pilgrimages were a regular feature of the life of their elite. Stories about Islamic civilization and culture were brought back by these pilgrims and spread among the Kievan Russians also, as Steven Runciman tells us².

This Arab civilization was the only serious rival to Byzantine civilization in the tenth century. The fact that Prince Vladimir rejected Islam should not obscure the fact that he and his people had learned from Islamic culture and art. It was

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1. Paper presented by the author at the Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Washington, D. C., August 1-8, 1966.
2. For the background and context of Patriarch Nikon's reforms see my study, *A Patriarchate of Jerusalem: From the Time of the Council of the Eastern Church in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, 1965, pp. 171-174.
3. The best biographical account of Patriarch Nikon's reign is still that published by Christodorus Parnassus in his church history, *История Русской Церкви*, 1813, pp. 612ff, which was recently reprinted in Athens, Greece, 1963, and still remains untranscribed.
4. I am extremely grateful to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Thyatira and Great Britain, the Most Rev. Bishop of the London Diocese, for his valuable publication of Pagan's correspondence, *ИЗВЕЩАНИЕ ПАПА*, *Три года Патриархата Александрии*, *СВЯТОСЛАВСТВО*, 1976, pp. 373. This unique work was of course one of my main sources, from which I drew.
5. Published together with several letters of Nikon by Nathan, *Историческое изображение*, 1813, pp. 1-10.
6. The *Chronographia* of Patriarch Nikon's reign is included in Pagan's edition of Nathan, op. cit., pp. 1-10.
7. Nathan, op. cit., pp. 1-10.
8. See Runciman, S., *Patriarch Nikon and the Patriarchate of Moscow*, in *Byzantine Studies*, A Festschrift for Archbishop Makarios III, 1961, pp. 1-10, and *Byzantine Studies*, A Festschrift for Archbishop Makarios III, 1961, pp. 1-10.
9. I have not found any other source which mentions the fact that the Patriarchate of Constantinople was the only serious rival to Byzantine civilization in the tenth century.
10. Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades*, I, Penguin, 1965, see especially p. 46 about Scandinavian pilgrims.

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destiny that once again brought the Islamic civilization of Central Asia into fruitful co-operation with the Russian people after 1917.

Conclusion

The cultural-psychical foundation of the Russian people, as they were laid in the tenth century and especially with the baptism of Prince Vladimir, definitely had strong Byzantine and Christian elements in it. But equally important was the contribution of pre-Christian Russia, the Islamic civilization of the Middle East, the Khazar empire, which for a time was Jewish, and above all that of the Southern Slavs, whose descendants are now in Bulgaria and Serbia.